

Pyeng Yang, Korea

February 11, 1919

James McKee Moffett

Dear Mrs. Pond,

The stamps which you sent in answer to my second letter arrived some time ago. Please excuse me for not answering and thanking you for your trouble before this. Thank you ever so much for the stamps.

Last Sunday we had the pleasure of hearing a minister who had been with the American soldiers in France for a year and a half and also in Siberia for three months. He was on his way to America when father met him on the train and persuaded him to stop here over Sunday. He was in the entertainment branch of the Y.M.C.A. and had been singing, being a trained singer, and telling funny stories to the boys when they came back from the trenches. He says he usually managed to get in a hymn and a prayer at the end of the service because they were not allowed to hold religious services. He put as much gospel as he could into his prayers.

[unsigned, but from
Jamie Moffett - almost 14 years old]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Cooperating Missions

Australian Presbyterian
Presbyterian, North
Presbyterian, South

Pyeong Yang Union Christian College

Pyeong Yang, Chosen (Korea)

Pyeongyang, Korea

February 19, 1919

Samuel A. Moffett

Dear Dr. Brown:

The fact that you have written me again in this confidential way rather encourages me to write you again quite freely as of yore on the questions of vital import to the successful prosecution of the work in Korea and I hope to get time for it soon. I greatly fear that we may come to a disastrous situation here in Korea unless something is done to better support our educational institutions (I am not speaking of colleges) and unless we can have some more evangelistic workers.

I feel that the Board does not know the real conditions here and that the College question has been allowed to so overshadow everything else that other problems are not receiving the attention they deserve.

I hope to write you soon.

Sincerely,

Samuel A. Moffett

(Reproduction in the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers. Original in the collections of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.)

A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN CHOSEN

This has been a memorable day in the history of this country. Yi Tai Wang, former emperor of Korea, passed away recently and day after tomorrow has been set as the day for the funeral. He is to be buried at state expense and as a prince of the Japanese Empire. The ceremonies are to be according to the Shinto rites and it is reported that the Koreans are very much offended at this as they want the funeral to be conducted according to their own national ceremonies. Various rumors are therefore afloat as to what is going to happen at Seoul at the time of the funeral.

A few days ago it was announced that memorial services would be held in this city in memory of the late emperor. One meeting was to be held in the compound of the Sungduk (Christian Boys School) school, another meeting at the compound of the Methodist Church and a third one at the headquarters of the Chundo Kyo. The latter is a half religious, half political organization which is widely spread throughout the country.

There has been considerable suppressed excitement for some days among the Koreans and we have had various rumors that something important was going to take place at that time. Dr. Moffett, Mr. Holdcroft and myself decided to attend the meeting and see for ourselves what was going on. Dr. McCune of Syenchun also came later and stood in the back of the yard. We found the courtyard full of people, we estimating the crowd at about three thousand. We were shown seats well forward but to one side. The pupils of all our church schools were there and also many from the government schools.

In front of the entrance to the building was erected a speakers' stand and around and back of this were seated several of the pastors and officers of the Presbyterian churches of the city. Rev. Kim Sun-du, pastor of the Fifth Church and moderator of the General Assembly was speaking when I entered. Pastor Kang Kyu-chan of the Fourth Church had already spoken, reviewing the life history of the late emperor. After Kim Sun-du had finished speaking he said that they would now sing the doxology and that the benediction would be pronounced and that would end the memorial part of the service but requested the people to remain seated as there were some other things to be done.

After the benediction had been pronounced Kim Sun-du read two passages of Scripture as follows: I Peter 3: 13-17 and Rom. 9: 3. It was evident from his intonations as he read these words that something serious was on the docket. Then Chung Il-sun, a graduate of the college and now helper in the Fourth Church, took the platform and said he had an important communication to read. He said it was the happiest and proudest day of his life and though he dies tomorrow he could not help but read it. There was a great cheer went up from the audience. He then proceeded to read what was virtually a declaration of independence of the Korean people. After he finished another man took the floor and explained just what the people were expected to do, saying that nothing of an unlawful nature was to be permitted in the least but that the people were to follow the instructions given and make no resistance to the authorities nor attack the Japanese people or officials. Kang Kyu-chan then addressed the people relative to the subject of national independence. When he had finished some men came out of the building bearing arm loads of

small Korean flags which they passed out to the people. A large Korean flag was then fastened to the wall back of the speakers' stand and then the crowd went wild shouting "Mansei," the Korean for Hurrah, and waving the flags. It was then explained to them that they were all to form in procession and parade the streets waving the flags and saying nothing but "Mansei", "Mansei".

Just then the crowd parted and in walked a company of policemen, some Japanese and some Korean and all under the command of an officer. The crowd was commanded by the leaders to remain perfectly quiet and it did so. The police then went among the people gathering up all the flags. At first some of the school boys were inclined to resist but they were exhorted by the leaders to give up the flags to the officers. Presently the chief of police himself and some other officers arrived. They looked the crowd over for a while and seemed to be meditating what to do. Then they called the leaders into the building who soon came out again and asked the crowd to quietly disperse but there was no motion of the crowd in that direction and they remained still. After an interval some one else exhorted them to leave but in vain. After half an hour or so the chief of police asked Dr. Moffett to try to dismiss the crowd and he presented the request of the chief to the people and said it would be the part of wisdom for them to disperse. The police officers then all left and I suggested to Dr. Moffett that we set a good example by ourselves leaving. So we three left and the crowd commenced to follow us. We started down the hill to the main street of the city to see what we could see. We found the street full of people and all the shop windows and doors closed tight. As we came in sight all the people waved their flags and shouted "Mansei". Presently we looked behind us and found that the crowd from the school compound was following and that we were leading the procession. I suggested that it would not be advisable for us to be seen leading a procession of would-be independentists down the main street of the city and that we had better shy off into one of the alleys and make our disappearance. We did so and while the crowd was still cheering us we went up the hill past the Fourth Church and came out on the west gate street and thence home. As we passed a police station we noticed that the police had arrested two women and while they were telephoning for instructions the women were joining the crowd outside in shouting "Mansei".

At about six o'clock Kang Kyu-chan, who is my associate pastor at the Fourth Church came to see me. I was rather surprised that he had not yet been arrested and told him so. He said that they all expected to be arrested before the night was over, and had all gone into the business being confident that such would be the case and willing to abide by the results.

I asked him who the leaders in this movement were and he said that leading members of the Christian Church and the Chundo Kyo thought this was a favorable time to speak out their convictions about national independence and while the Peace Conference was in session at Paris they wanted to have their own cause presented and hoped that it would result in their obtaining their freedom from the oppressive yoke imposed upon them by the Japanese Government. He asked me my opinion of the movement and I told him that while I could neither blame nor praise them I could not help but admire their courage. I felt that the movement was fraught with very grave peril to the church and to the nation. He said that Ni Seung-heun, principal of the O-san school in the northern province had been down here a few weeks ago at the time of our winter class and had presented the matter to the church leaders here and secured their co-operation.

The declaration which was read at the meeting this afternoon and copies of which had been circulated all over the city by school children while the meetings were being held had been drawn up in Seoul and signed by thirty three men, including Christian pastors and other officers of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches and also members of the Chundo Kyo and a few other prominent men.

Sunday, March 2nd

About midnight last night Dr. Moffett was called to the police office and told that church services would not be permitted today. We had anticipated that this step would be taken and so were not surprised. We had a meeting of the men of the station this morning and felt that all that we could do was to convey to the various churches the police order. So various ones of us went to the churches to impart this information. On the way to the Fourth Church I learned that there was a guard of soldiers at the Central church and later learned that there was a guard at the large Methodist church also but none at the other smaller churches. There was not even a policeman in sight at the Fourth Church. I notified the people that there would be no services that day. On inquiring about Pastor Kang I was told that he had been arrested at about six o'clock this morning. Later I learned that all the others who had been leaders in the meeting of yesterday had also been arrested.

Pastor Kil Sun-ju of the Central Church had gone to Seoul a few days ago to join the others whose names were signed to the declaration and it was said that they were all to go in a body to the Governor General and present the declaration. I have learned since that they did not go to the Governor-General but held a meeting in one of the parks in Seoul [Pagoda Park] attended by a great crowd where Mr. Kil and Mr. Son, head of the Chundo-kyo were the chief speakers. They then all retired to a restaurant where they ordered a big dinner and telephoned to the police as to where they were. At the end of the dinner the police sent automobiles and escorted them to jail where they now are.

I met Dr. Moffett on the street and together we walked up over the hill past the Methodist Church where we saw the guard of soldiers and then down to the South Gate Church where there were no soldiers and everything was quiet. Calling at the house of the pastor, Ni Ill-yung, we learned that he also had been arrested this morning together with another pastor from country who had been at the meeting yesterday.

The day has passed very quietly, there being no disturbances of any kind. It is rumored that tomorrow there will be another meeting and that it will be kept up every day. They expect that the leaders of each day will be arrested and that then other appointed leaders will take their place till there is no more room in the jails and that arrests will have to stop per force.

Rev. E.W. Thwing, of Peking, who is here, went to the Central Church this morning and found that he and others could not get in on account of the guard so he invited them to follow him upon the hills north of the city for a service. They followed very quietly and the procession increased as they went till they had about eighty when they arrived. A company of soldiers followed them and lined up in the rear and later a company of police came and lined up on the other

side but as neither guards nor worshipers interfered with each other they went on with the Sunday School lesson and had a nice service for an hour or more. In the afternoon Mr. Thwing and I and my son Charles went for a walk out to Kija's grave and the northern part of the city. We preached to numerous small groups and passed out tracts giving some to the company of soldiers whom we found there. They seemed glad to get them. We told them what we were doing and they said go ahead and they would follow us.

Rumors are in the air that similar meetings were held in all parts of the country yesterday.

Indeed that was the plan. Rumor says that at Seoul the people came in contact with the soldiers and that many people were injured and that at Taiku the police office was burned.

Last evening a large crowd gathered before the police office here in Pyengyang and shouted "mansei". Then the police ordered the hose turned on the people. This angered the crowd and they commenced to throw stones so that every window in the police office was broken. Then the Korean policemen were ordered to turn the hose on the people. Some of them refused and threw off their uniforms and joined the people.

Monday, March 3rd

I thought that it would be well for me to go over to the college building and see how things are going on there this morning so I started over about nine o'clock and on the way I saw a company of Japanese soldiers drilling on the campus and being watched by a large number of people. The college and academy students were standing on the bank in front of the college building watching the soldiers drill when suddenly the soldiers came charging up the hill whereupon the students took to their heels and fled. Then everybody including the students commenced to cheer. Two or three men refused to run but quietly stood their ground. The soldiers rushed up to them. One of them they struck with the butts of their guns and kicked with their feet till he had to move away to keep from being seriously injured. Another man refused to run and commenced to shout "Mansei". The soldiers struck him several times with the butts of their guns and then one hit him over the head with the barrel of his rifle. Another poked him in the face with his rifle butt so that the blood was flowing from several wounds of his head and face and the side walk was covered with drops of blood. Then two soldiers led him off between them and I saw him no more.

Another man was walking quietly along the road when a plain clothes Japanese walked up and slapped him and then knocked him down and began to kick him. A soldier rushed up to help and struck the prostrate man several vicious blows with his rifle and then together they kicked him over an embankment into the ditch. Pulling him out of the ditch, [they] then beat him some more and then led him away between them.

By this time crowds of people had collected in many different places and were cheering loudly. The soldiers ran here and there wherever the people were assembled, scattering them and beating any whom they overtook.

This work was kept up till dinner time when the people went home and the rest of the day

was quiet. Soldiers are posted all over the city and the city is in fact under marshal law.

Reports continue to come as to the doing in other parts of the country. There seem to have been disturbances all over the country. Most of the Korean police seem to have deserted and joined the crowds. It is reported that they are being arrested and will be executed. Many people have been injured today, some slightly and some severely.

Tuesday, March 4th

The Bible Class for Country Women which opened last Friday has had to close for there is so much confusion and noise and danger around that study was impossible. Several of the women were assaulted on the street yesterday by soldiers, knocked down and kicked into the ditch. Two foreign ladies, Mrs. J.Z. Moore and Miss Trissel, both of the Methodist Mission were assaulted by soldiers and rather roughly treated while on their way from their homes to the hospital. The soldiers have been chasing people today like they were hunters after wild beasts. Outrages have been very numerous. Dr. Moffett was walking down the street with Mr. Yamada, Japanese school inspector, when they saw a soldier chase a man and thrust his sabre into him from behind. They saw other men and women knocked down and kicked and treated in such ways as we have heard that the Huns treated the Belgians. Other members of the foreign community who were on the streets yesterday saw similar outrages and their blood was made to boil within them by what they saw.

For several hours during the early afternoon no soldiers were visible. So the people got together in two or three different places and held meetings of a patriotic character. These were soon dispersed by the soldiers who put in an appearance.

Wednesday, March 5th

This day has passed very quietly. Not till about four o'clock this afternoon did I hear any shouting. We decided to close the college and academy today instead of on the 20th, as conditions are so disturbed that the students would not be able to study.

We had a prayer meeting in the Fourth Church tonight as usual and the usual congregation was present. After the service one of the deacons called me aside and told me that he and nineteen other Koreans, all prominent men in the city had been called into the prefects officer today and a paper put before them which they were asked to sign. The paper was a statement to the effect that the declaration of independence promulgated the other day had been gotten up by a low class of people and did not at all represent the sentiment of the Korean people. They were told that this paper had been drawn up in Seoul and was signed there by many of the most prominent citizens and now they were urged to sign the statement which would then be sent to the Paris Peace Conference to counteract the effect of the former declaration. All sorts of pressure was brought to bear upon these twenty men to get them to sign it but, so said my informant, every one of them refused to do so.

It is reported that the Japanese Government has paid the expenses of Bishop Harris to go to

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the Paris Peace Conference, and present papers signed by Koreans, claiming that they represent the feelings of the Korean people as favorable to Japanese rule. The American Consul in Seoul has [informed] the Conference of the attempts to coerce the Koreans into signing papers, so that any paper presented by Bishop Harris or the Japanese claiming to have Korean signatures will have little weight.

(from unidentified U.S. newspaper, probably the Los Angeles Times, sometime in March or April, 1919, among the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

On Tuesday, March 4th, I, in company with Mr. Yamada, inspector of schools, went into the midst of the crowds of Koreans on the College grounds and thence went through the streets of the city. We saw thousands of Koreans on the streets, the shops all closed and Japanese soldiers here and there. Frequently the Koreans would throw up their hands and shout "Mansei" and the soldiers would rush upon and disperse them.

At one place three soldiers came along pushing two Koreans tightly bound, one having a bloody gash just above and at the side of each eye. At other places soldiers were chasing the people with fixed bayonets. As we came back and near a police station soldiers made a dash at some 15 or more people in the middle of the street and three of the soldiers dashed at some five or six men standing quietly at the side under the eaves of the shops hitting them with their guns. One tall young man in a very clean white coat dodged the thrust of the gun coming about five feet under the eaves when an officer thrust his sword into his back just under the shoulder blade. The man was not more than ten feet from us in front. He ran forward and across the street a little way to a partially opened shop and taking off his coat just as we reached there, disclosed a hole in his undershirt from which the blood was pouring. Someone shouted, "Go to the hospital", which was at the end of the street just ahead, and as he ran he stumbled, recovering himself, stumbled again but continued on. I called to some men standing by to go and support him which two of them did, one on each side running him to the hospital.

Mr. Yamada was most indignant and said, "I shall tell Governor Kudo just what I have seen and tell him in detail." I asked him if he had noticed that the man was quietly standing at the side of the road and had given no occasion for the attack and he said, "Yes".

Just after that we saw 34 young girls and women marched along by some six or eight policemen and soldiers, the girls in advance not being more than 12 or 13 years of age.

Just outside of the West Gate Mr. Yamada and I separated and I went towards home. As I arrived near my own compound I saw a number of soldiers rush into the gate of the Theological Seminary Professor's Cottage and saw them drag out a man, beat and kick him and lead him off. Others began clubbing a youth behind the gate and then led him out, tied him tightly and beat and kicked him. Then there came out three others, two youths and one man, dragged by soldiers and then tied with rope, their hands behind them. Thinking one was my secretary who lived in the gate house where the men had been beaten, I moved to the junction of the road to make sure, but I recognized none of the four. When they came to the junction of the road and some of the soldiers were within 10 or 12 feet of me they all stopped, tied the ropes tighter and then with 4 men tied and helpless these 20 or more soldiers in charge of an officer struck the men with their fists in the face and back, slapped them on both sides of the face, hit them on the head and face with a piece of board, kicked them on the legs and back, doing these things repeatedly. The officer in a rage raised his sword with both hands over his head as he stood before a boy, and both I and the boy thought he was to be cleft in two. The cry of terror and anguish he raised was most piercing. Then kicking and beating these men, they led them off.

3/05/1919 – p.2 S.A.M.

The above I saw myself, and testify to the truthfulness of my statements. In all my contact with the Koreans these five days, and in all my observation of the crowds inside and outside the city, I have witnessed no act of violence on the part of any Korean.

Signed: Samuel A. Moffett

Pyongyang, Korea

March 5, 1919

Samuel A. Moffett

On March 4th, 5 theological students from south Korea arrived and entered the dormitory of the Seminary, which was to open on the next day. Late in the afternoon when the people were fleeing from the soldiers who were pursuing them with guns, beating and kicking them, the soldiers pursued those who fled into the Seminary grounds. These five theologues were in their rooms sitting down and had not been out with the crowd nor had they joined in the demonstration. Soldiers suddenly broke open the door and dragged these men out and took them to the police station where despite their denials they were given short shrift, taken out, arms and legs tied to the four arms of a large wooden cross face downward and beaten on the naked buttock with 29 blows of some hard cane or stick till they were all bruised and broken. Then they were dismissed. The next day when the Seminary opened only one was able to go the short distance from the dormitory to the main building.

In view of this and the danger to all students of arrest and beating without cause, it was decided to postpone the opening of the Seminary and the more than 80 students from all over Korea were dismissed to their homes. This was the more inevitable in view of the fact that last night the firemen were let loose on the village where many of the Academy students live and board, and near midnight broke into houses dragging out young men and beating them and that report says all students are to be so treated. Today when the Academy and College should have opened after the ex-emperor's [Kōjōng's] funeral, only two students of the Academy and 8 of the College dared attempt to study and both were closed until the end of the term this month.

To the best of my knowledge the above is a true statement of the facts.

Signed: Samuel A. Moffett

Dear Blair: [Dr. William N. Blair]

Send copies to the Board or use in any way you may wish. I told these same things to Japanese officials here and the officials in Seoul. S.A.M.

Dear Dr. Brown: [A.J. Brown, Foreign Missions Board Secretary]

The above is a copy of a letter received from Dr. Moffett.

Sincerely,

William N. Blair

(Copy in the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers. Original presumably in the collection of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA)

Japan

March 17, 1919

editorial in the Osaka *Asahi*
quoted in the Peking and Tientsin Times

THE EVIL VILLAGE OUTSIDE THE WEST GATE
In Pyengyang

“Outside the West Gate in Pyeng-yang there are some brick houses and some built after the Korean style, some high and some low. These are the homes of the foreigners. There are about a hundred of them in all, and they are Christian missionaries. In the balmy spring, they manifest love and mercy, but if their minds are fully investigated, they will be found to be filled with intrigue and greed. They pretend to be here for preaching, but they are secretly stirring up political disturbances, and foolishly keep passing on the vain talk of the Koreans, and thereby help to foster trouble. These are really the homes of devils.

“The head of the crowd is Moffett. The Christians of the place obey him as they would Jesus Himself. In the 29th year of Meiji, freedom was given to any one to believe in any religion he wished, and at that time Moffett came to teach the Christian religion. He has been in Pyeng-yang for thirty years, and has bought up a great deal of land. He is really the founder of the foreign community. In this community because of his efforts there have been established schools from the primary grade to a college and a hospital. While they are educating the Korean children and healing their diseases on the one hand, on the other there is concealed a clever shadow, and even the Koreans themselves talk of this.

“This is the centre of the present uprising. It is not in Seoul but in Pyeng-yang.

“It is impossible to know whether these statements are true or false, but we feel certain that it is in Pyeng-yang, in the Church schools, — in a certain college [Soong Sil] and a certain girls' school [Soong Eui] — in the compound of these foreigners. Really this foreign community is very vile.”

(quoted in *Korea's Fight for Freedom* by F.A. McKenzie, N.Y., 1920, pp. 283, 284)

Seoul, Korea

March 22, 1919

REPORT OF FIRST SESSION OF UNOFFICIAL CONFERENCE, CHOSEN HOTEL

Present: Messrs. Watanabe, Katayama, Kobuku, Sekiya, Hoshino, Kawabata, Yamagata, Matsumoto, Sakaido, Niwa, Welch, Avison, Moffett, Gale, Gerdine, Hardie, Brockman, Whittemore, Noble and Bunker.

Those present met on the invitation of Judge Watanabe and Mr. Katayama.

JUDGE WATANABE acted as chairman and explained the object of the meeting which was to talk over matters connected with the present regrettable disturbances. Various professions were represented but all have but one object, the welfare of the Korean people. He said: "As a judge, I have had the desire to ensure that every Korean should get justice in the courts, that those who ought to be punished should be punished and that those who ought to be protected should be protected. It should be the first object of a banker, not to make money, but to improve the financial condition of, and provide a better financial system for, the people. The object of teachers should be to enlighten the people, and that of missionaries to aid their spiritual development, and perhaps the last is the most important of all. In spite of all our efforts we now have these very regrettable disturbances. It is probable that we, as officials, may have made some mistakes, but it is also probable that others than officials - - bankers, missionaries, etc., may have made mistakes. I am glad for so full a response to our invitation and especially to have Dr. Moffett and Mr. Whittemore from outside of Seoul, whom we had not expected. We hope that you will speak out your minds so that we may have a frank expression of opinions.

"One of the stated causes of the trouble is inequality of treatment of Koreans and Japanese. I wish to call your attention to the conditions that existed here ten years ago. They were very deplorable. One of the first things I did after coming here was to go through the legal records in order to find out how the courts had been conducted but there were no legal records to be found although we searched for them. They had been intentionally destroyed to cover up the injustice and bribery of the judges. We found that official exactions were made whenever officials visited the districts. The forest lands of the country had been deforested until the mountains were bare. I have heard it said that a country is practically destroyed if one-third of its surface is denuded, but here more than one-half the whole area of the country had been deforested. As for education, there were practically no schools. The so-called schools were only places where the Chinese classics were taught. All these things placed the Koreans in a different status, and all we have done was done with good intentions for the sake of the Koreans. There has been nothing like oppression on the part of the government. I say this not for the government but in the interest of truth. The government planned to correct these inequalities in the course of time when they thought that the proper time had come." At this point the Judge again made a plea for frankness in the discussion.

DR. GALE: "I have been through all my life here a sincere well wisher of both Japan and Korea and also of the whole Far East. I am therefore very much disturbed over present conditions. The Korean has doubtless been very much benefitted materially by Japanese rule and

for this he should be thankful. There was, however, his world of the mind quite apart from the material world and in this world he lives altogether a separate existence from me. For thirty years I have tried to enter into it, but even today am only an onlooker. His was a world of an ancient civilization that I have learned to respect the more I knew of it, a world more complex in its workings than my own, peopled with events, associations and ideals that made him a man quite by himself; very different from us of the West, and also very different I think from the Japanese. Such being the case, any methods taken to govern him must sympathetically take account of his civilization and try to build on that rather than try to force something foreign to his bringing up. The key to this mental world of his is the key to the solution of the problem. The body may be comfortable but if there is no comfort of the mind the comfort of the body does not count for anything with the Korean."

DR. MOFFETT: "I have lived for thirty years in Korea and have many friends among the Koreans. I like them and sympathize with them. I speak as a very great friend and admirer of the Koreans. I have come to find that they place a higher value on spiritual and moral things than on material. My teaching has been to elevate the spiritual and I have been greatly satisfied with the results. One must recognize the worth of the Korean along this line. The thing which appeals to the Korean is justice and justice has a greater appeal to him than anything of a material nature. Impress him with the fact that justice is rendered him and he will value and receive it gratefully. Their civilization which has developed the moral and spiritual side came through China. I find that they appreciate being treated like men and that manhood and worth appeal to them much more than physical comforts."

DR. HARDIE: "I have great love and admiration for the Koreans. Their development in manhood has been very marked during the last few years, and it must have expression. This development is due to the influence both of the Japanese and the missionaries. The Japanese educational system has done a great deal for the development of the Koreans, and I have been watching with interest the efforts of the Japanese and wondering how they would work out. Japan was generally believed to be the key to Asia. She could accomplish her mission in Korea by giving the people a just, human, kind and sympathetic rule. I have rejoiced in the development of the country, have appreciated the improvements introduced and the economic prosperity. But while the Koreans admit the existence of these material improvements, the feeling among them is general that they are not wholly for their benefit. These benefits gave no satisfaction as long as they were treated as inferiors with arrogance and overbearing repression. In proportion to the growth of their manhood the sense of outrage has increased, and what we now see is the expression, on the first possible occasion, of their pent-up feeling of distrust, dissatisfaction and rebellion against a deliberate and forced form of race discrimination as they regard it. Koreans cannot be made loyal subjects of the Empire by force: their will must be won. The key to the will is not in the body or intellect but in the spirit - - in winning their faith and confidence. Let us not destroy the work of our own hands."

MR. WHITTEMORE: Stated that the Koreans felt that they did not have religious liberty, and the multiplicity of laws grated upon them. While the laws in themselves might be good, so many of them worried the people.

MR. KOKUBO (Minister of Justice) supposed that the Koreans must be hard to lead in [a] spiritual way and had asked the missionaries to meet the present group so that those present might get the missionary viewpoint concerning the recent disturbances, that he had heard that the missionaries had instigated this trouble, and that as we all knew he had investigated it and was confident that they had had nothing to do with it. He asked if the missionaries were willing to co-operate with the government and put forth their effort. They had great influence. "If you put forth your effort to quiet the people", said he, "you will do much service and in this way you will do much for humanity and for peace."

MR. SEKIYA: felt that the students were not entirely responsible but that undoubtedly a large number of them had taken part in the demonstrations. He continued: "I am therefore not entirely free from blame since I am Minister of Education. The government may have ignored the thoughts of the Korean but if it did so we did it unintentionally. Our work has been to promote their happiness. Dr. Moffett says that the Koreans respect the spiritual more than the material, and while that is all right for the missionaries the aim of the government is different from that of the missionaries, because the latter simply aim at getting around them a number of Koreans and making as good Christians as possible out of them. You do everything for their spiritual welfare, but you must realize that they have many material shortcomings, and that the government may have to enforce measures which they are not glad to do. It has been necessary for the educational department to put its main emphasis on industrial education. The Koreans have a weakness for laying too much emphasis on the spiritual at the cost of their material life. In this present materialistic age it is necessary to cultivate both the spiritual and material side. Formerly the Korean method of education was only the teaching of reading. The Korean despised labor. We recognize this and have been endeavoring to make the Koreans see their mistake and realize that work is very important. Another Korean weakness is that they lay too much emphasis on formality. For example, they call their schools by a much higher title than they deserve. Some of the Mission Schools have also had a similar weakness. The government has not been giving such high sounding names to the schools but has been trying to increase their equipment. The Koreans complain because the elementary schools course in Japan is six years and in Korea only four. In Japan proper until ten years ago the elementary school course was only four years instead of six. The Koreans also complain because there are too few schools. This is due to lack of funds. We do not desire to tax the people too rapidly. The Government has drawn up its plans and has all but secured the recognition of the Diet for more schools. We have carried on all this work with sincerity. The Koreans must have failed to understand it. We may have failed in our methods but we have not lacked sympathy for them. We respect the character of the Korean people but it is expedient to root out their bad points. Things that are bad must be cured. It may be difficult to Japanize them but we must eliminate what is bad in their characters. Is it wise always to take the course that is pleasing to the Koreans? We must do things at times at the risk of being misunderstood by them. We Japanese may be too strict or too minute in government but in doing the things we have, there has been no intention of oppressing the people. We hope that the missionaries will co-operate with the government in carrying out the government measures though they may not be most pleasing to the Koreans.

MR. KATAYAMA: The way in which the Koreans have acted is very wrong, because

Korea is a part of the Empire. The annexation was carried out in accordance with the rules of international law: there was no violation of international law. The annexation is a fact. It is therefore justified by fact and by law, and the Koreans who express views of independence are wrong. Their acts may be of a highly treasonable nature and as such the perpetrators must be brought to justice. I consider that the Koreans should be treated equally and justly. There may be instances where the Koreans have been treated unjustly but on the whole the Japanese have treated the Koreans with justice and equity. For example, in the treatment accorded to the Korean employees of the Bank of Chosen, who are graduates of the Higher Commercial School of Japan, we desire to treat according to the principles of equality, but in practice we must regard to status of individuals. We adapt those Koreans to suitable positions and give them proper work, taking into consideration their stage of development. All peoples must be law abiding and peace loving. There may have been violence in some cases but if so this is contrary to justice and if the missionaries will point out these cases we will respect their views. We should treat the Koreans generously and liberally but they must not oppose the government's policy. There is much misunderstanding which may result in war or conflict. Japan has for many years considered America her friend, but sources of misunderstanding may cause war. We will not forget friendly advice given by Americans. Now is the most important moment when we should unite in spirit and work for the whole world.

MR. BROCKMAN: For ten years I have labored in both Japanese and Korean Y.M.C.A. work. We have taken as our ideal the co-operation of both Koreans and Japanese and the keeping of Korean initiative among Koreans. This brings peace and happiness and hope to the Korean Association. I long to see the time when the Japanese Empire will be made up of representatives from the entire Empire – Formosans representing the interests of Formosa, Koreans representing the interests of Chosen, and the Japanese representing the mother country. By such means Japan will take the place awarded her as one of the five great powers of the world.

MR. BUNKER: (after Mr. Sekiya) Believed a sense of injustice rankled in Korean hearts. It would be wise to give Koreans more to do in line of governing themselves.

MR. NOBLE: (after Mr. Kokubu) Had met a man from South who reported that so far there had been no disturbances in 100 churches and 45 schools under his supervision. Personally he had taught Koreans to be in subjection to [the] powers that be. Koreans felt that under present conditions they had no hope.

(Stated at beginning of report: PRIVATE, NOT TO BE PUBLISHED. Carbon copy in Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers. Another copy appears to be in the files of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.)

Seoul, Korea

March 24, 1919

REPORT OF SECOND SESSION OF UNOFFICIAL CONFERENCE, CHOSEN HOTEL

Present: Messrs. Katayama, Kokubu, Sekuya, Hoshino, Kawabata, Saito, Niwa, Matsumoto, Sakaido, Yamagata, Welch, Noble, Bunker, Gale, Moffett, Avison, Whittemore, Gerdine, Hardie, Brockman and Dr. Egbert W. Smith.

MR KATAYAMA opened by stating that this meeting was in continuation of that held the previous Saturday and that everyone should feel free to express his views on the subjects discussed then or to be discussed tonight. He had been requested to begin the conversation. Mr. Niwa asked that either Bishop Welch or Dr. Avison begin now.

BISHOP WELCH said: We feel that this is but an adjourned meeting and entirely unofficial on both sides. We missionaries in no sense represent our Missions or our Korean friends, and anything we say will be an expression of our personal opinions only. I recall that at our previous meeting it was decided that our proceedings be not as yet published but I think that it is desirable that these meetings be regarded as private and if we are to be frank in our statements it will be necessary that we understand that nothing will be published and no public use made of what is said or even of the mere fact that we have met in such a conference. Otherwise it might be misunderstood by both Koreans and Japanese. We are here on your invitation ready to put ourselves at your service in any proper way. Our position as foreigners prohibits us from doing certain things. The question at issue being political, and concerning the state, it would be improper for us to intervene. Every missionary being a friend of both the Korean and Japanese is intensely concerned yet we must assume the position of bystanders. It must be clearly recognized that this movement was not instigated by missionaries. It is not even a Christian movement, for most of the leaders and a great majority of the people are not Christian. It is a national movement, a controversy between the people and the existing government. So it is improper for us to offer advice either to the government or to the Koreans. Of course in such a discussion the foreigner has no choice but to stand in a neutral position. Outside of these considerations if we can assist the gentlemen here present in understanding the situation, all here will be glad to give such information as he has, though it is improbable that any missionary has information not already in possession of those present. Possibly if we proceed by way of question and answer we can get along better than by making set speeches. Apart from politics there are humanitarian questions involved but even here we do not wish to thrust anything on this company.

MR. MATSUMOTO: I am grateful for the opportunity afforded me to hear statements regarding the present trouble. From the speeches made on Saturday I gather that most of you are old residents, some having lived here thirty years and some twenty. I am comparatively young having been here but seven years and have no claim to such knowledge of the Koreans as you have. The older residents have an extensive knowledge of things Korean but that fact may sometimes be a hindrance in forming a correct judgment. The judgment of such a newcomer as I may be shallow but it may have some intuitive value. With reference to the present trouble I regard it not so much a serious matter but it is the outcome of the Korean demand for the

abolition of the discrimination against them. It is declared to be a movement for independence and, judging from the manifestos issued, it is seemingly a political question; in my opinion it is not so, but rather a matter of sentiment. We must not be misled by words and names. Although this movement is called a movement for independence, it is rather a species of what the Japanese call "high-collar", a sort of fashionable following of foreign modes. This phrase does not mean that the person so styled really wears a high collar: it is rather pretending to a knowledge of outside affairs. Although the demonstrators on the surface are calling for independence, their real aim, in my opinion is to secure the abolition of discriminatory treatment. The demand for the abolition of unequal treatment is not confined to officials but the whole people are demanding that they be given exactly the same treatment as the Japanese born subjects. I have heard of a middle school student who took part in the demonstrations and when scolded by his father he said he did not look for the complete success of their demand, but he could no longer submit to the unequal treatment, not knowing how long it was going to last. His father was not able to reply to this, but tears came to his eyes. This incident shows the state of mind of the Korean people. This demand is reasonable and I sympathize with the Koreans for we Japanese are making a similar demand at the Peace Conference - - the abolition of racial discrimination. This demand of the Korean people is reasonable in theory but difficult to carry out in practice. Not only the officials and those engaged in religious work must co-operate but all other people also. For instance, the Korean people discriminate against the Japanese, because they do not let us know their inner thoughts. I am not pessimistic about the present trouble, I am optimistic. I consider it as in a certain sense a proof of the success of the Government General's educational policy, because the people are awakening to a sense of their rights. Formerly they dared not to do such a thing but now they have learned that justice may be obtained. The missionaries have contributed greatly to awakening in them a sense of justice which is also a proof of success. So, with regard to the future prospects of this people I am optimistic. I have heard from you that they are a worthy people capable of receiving education and of developing politically and industrially. I have great reliance on them as brothers and sisters. Although the present trouble is unpleasant we have secured through it many unexpected findings. Hitherto they have concealed from us their inner hearts but since this trouble began they speak without hesitation of what is not right in our doings as well as commend that which is good. As a lawyer I know many instances where Koreans have discriminated against us. In lawsuits against Japanese they carry on the suit to the bitter end, and when a Korean lawyer is on one side and a Japanese lawyer on the other the Korean takes the strongest kind of measures. As a measure for settling the present as well as future troubles it is necessary to do away with discrimination. School education is insufficient; there must be special education, meetings of Japanese and Koreans where they can talk freely. This is very important. In conclusion I hope that the foreign gentlemen will give us suggestions as to how best to proceed in this matter.

MR. SEKIYA: I wish to give an example of how difficult it is to abolish this discrimination. Some months ago I went to Kanko (Hamheung) where I had two Korean friends, one a judge and the other a procurator. I was well acquainted with these two men and spoke to them freely. When I asked if they had any complaints to make about their position they said, No, except in the matter of the public baths. This is not the only example of that kind. I went to Seishu (Chungju) and it was the same there - - the Koreans were not allowed to take baths until

after 9 p.m. (Here followed a long statement about discrimination in bath houses)

Regarding Bishop Welch's statement that missionaries cannot interfere I know that they are not here as representatives of the Boards, and am aware that I do not know very much about Christianity; but I will say a few words about it. Bishop Welch has said that the missionaries must not interfere in political matters and must be bystanders. I may be entertaining too selfish desires or ideas but I wonder if the missionaries are doing their real duty when they see the people who are under their leadership violating the laws of the state and committing crime and blunders which are going to bring them into suffering and difficulties and do not try to stop them! Is it kind of you who are their spiritual fathers to stand by and see them doing such things! So long as a demonstration is carried on without violence it is not so bad, but recently the demonstrators have been attacking police stations and destroying houses and school buildings. If the present government is really a bad one this attitude of the missionaries may be a proper one but the present government of Korea cannot be compared with the former one. We may have committed blunders and the people may have committed blunders against brethren. We are trying and shall try to correct mistakes. You older missionaries know well the conditions under the old regime, and should be able to judge impartially. Do you not think the Koreans should show a little patience? I may be speaking too boldly and frankly, but the Bible teaches that Christians should obey "the powers that be." Is not this the time to teach that commandment? It does not apply to times of peace but to restless times as these. Is it not time to act and tell them to obey as Paul told the Romans? I wish Bishop Welch and Dr. Avison would speak freely.

BISHOP WELCH: I will answer Mr. Sekiya's question but first wish to refer to an incidental remark that he has made. We are all here to learn and I want to know precisely what the facts are. The judgment of the world will be passed on the facts of the case, and I want to know just what they are. I understand that the watchword of the Koreans is "no violence", and while they have demonstrated, it has been without weapons in their hands. I have been told that instances are rare, if any, where Koreans did any violence until they were first attacked by deadly weapons. Can we be told instances where Koreans have been the first to make such attacks? Can those who have the facts speak.

MR. SEKIYA: So far as I know in some places the demonstrations were carried out peacefully but in others from the beginning they attacked the gendarme stations and police. Of late they have been of even a more violent nature, but I cannot cite names of places.

MR. KOKUBU: I may also say that the demonstration may be carried on peacefully, the fact that it is for independence makes it a violation of the law. The fact of yelling is a crime and a collision frequently follows. The police must stop them. In cities and towns the demonstrators refrained from violence in obedience to their leaders. In villages there are instances in which the rioters entered upon violence from the start, or to set free those who had been arrested. Admitting that the demonstrations were peaceful as a violation of law why do the missionaries hesitate to try to check the committing of further such offences? A law is a law even if bad, and must be obeyed. It may be one that should be amended but as long as it is in force it is wrong to violate it. Ought not the friends of the people try to prevent them from carrying on their illegal acts? I am not inviting controversy but simply submitting what is in my mind for your

consideration.

BISHOP WELCH: The statements made concern questions of fact and the attitude of the government. May I answer definitely why missionaries ought not to intervene? There are three reasons: (1) Interference by missionaries would be ineffective and would not accomplish the desired object. Most of the demonstrators are non-Christians and outside of our influence. I feel sure that even the Christians who have not asked our advice would not take our advice but on the other hand, resent it. (2) The people as a whole would resent our interference and the missionary can do his best work only if he has the confidence and affection of the people. If he should withstand their desire at this time the result would be disastrous. (3) It would be highly improper for any missionaries to intervene in a political question. If once admitted that it were proper for missionaries or foreigners to go into politics it would have to be admitted that they may take part on either side. The government would not admit that we should go into politics in opposition to it, so that in any domestic question we are advised by our Consuls to take an attitude of neutrality. We have been instructed by both the British and American Consuls to do this. Mr. Hisamidzu seems to have supported that position, as in the case of the Prefect's letter to school principals instructing them to read to the parents and explain to them the Government General's proclamation concerning the demonstrations, and to make their children attend in the matter of school attendance, missionary teachers were directed to refrain from doing so. (Bishop Welch here read the instruction from former Minister Sill, in 1897, warning American citizens against taking sides in politics.)

MR. GERDINE: The late Prince Ito held that it was highly improper for missionaries to take part in political questions. Today we are being urged to advise the people on a political question. These are two distinctly different positions. Which position is it proper for us to take?

MR. YAMAGATA: referred to a letter which was published in the *Peking Daily News* of March 15th, purporting to be from a missionary at SenSen (Syenchun). This letter he claimed showed violent hatred of the Japanese, making quotations from "The Tragedy of Korea" [by]. It also makes disparaging references to the Governor General, Count Hasegawa. He did not approve of the foolish charges made implicating missionaries as instigators of the movement. But when such letters are published it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that some missionaries are behind the movement. These letters give hope to misguided Koreans and tend to embitter feeling.

DR. MOFFETT: claimed that he was not to be considered anti-Japanese if he should write about what he had seen in Pyenyang. He saw things with his own eyes which made him feel greatly concerned for the government and for the people. He saw things that were so unlawful and cruel that he felt it his duty as a man to make representations to his Consul but he had been unwilling to do that until he had first reported them to the Governor of the Province because he felt it was proper that the Governor should know them. He agreed with Mr. Kokubu that law is law, and that the Government must enforce the law. It was the cruel, unlawful acts of soldiers, gendarmes, police and firemen which no one could defend. He hesitated to speak of what he saw, and did so only with great feeling. It is not so pleasant to hear such things. "Yet", he said, "I feel that as friends, and especially as most of you are Christians, it is right that we

should be frank, and if I can tell you what will help you understand the situation it will be doing you a service. I saw the soldiers not only arrest but knock down and kick men and women on the public street. While in the company of a Japanese gentleman I saw an officer run his sword into a bystander; and my companion was just as indignant as I was. Mr. Sekiya will know Mr. Yamada who was with me and who said, "I shall go in and tell Governor Kudo just what I have seen." On one occasion I saw soldiers and gendarmes beating some people near our gate quarters, and thinking one of the men looked like my secretary, I went quite close to make sure, but it was not he. I went as near as ten feet. They tied three boys and one man together, and twenty or thirty soldiers of the 77th regiment kicked them and beat them with boards and guns repeatedly, until I was sick. I saw the firemen with their spiked clubs let loose on women and children and not only arresting them but chasing them right and left; and you may know that I was indignant as you will be, for many of my best friends were thus treated. While the law takes its course, what I would ask is that you would guard against the unlawful things done in supporting the laws. Some of the leaders of this movement are among the best men in Korea. I pass no judgment on their wisdom or folly. I ask consideration of the fact that they are real men, and among the best in this country.

DR. AVISON: Being a British subject I may have more freedom of speech in some respects than my American friends; and I feel I must give expression here to the thoughts of a Britisher. You have asked us to speak frankly what is in our hearts and I am going to do so. I have learned from Mr. Sekiya to speak out frankly. We have had a great world war during which Japan fought with the other Allies for the great principle of freedom. The war has been fought and the victory gained not to crush Germany but to gain the principle of liberty. And now the world is organizing a great league to maintain that principle and Japan has joined as one of the five great powers to stand for that idea. Perhaps I might mention a few things that in my thought belong to the freedom of man, and without which a man cannot be considered to be free:

1. The right to cherish a national spirit. This may be thought by some to be a dangerous expression but in my judgment it is not necessarily so. I am English but my home has been in Canada since I was a small boy so I can speak of my experience as a colonist. In Canada we have not only a great English population but a large French population as well. Indeed one section of that country is inhabited almost entirely by the descendants of the original settlers, French, who maintain to this day the French national spirit, although at the same time they are just as ready as the British to uphold the Government of Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the great French-Canadian Premier once said in an address, "I am a Frenchman and proud to be a Frenchman; but I am also a Canadian and am loyal to the British government because Great Britain gives us full liberty within the Empire for the growth of a national spirit." The national spirit of each race in Canada is permitted full development. But the people recognize that this is subservient to the greatest good of the whole Empire.
2. A free man has the right to the use of his national language. Without that right a man cannot be happy. In Canada we have not only two languages but several and everyone has full freedom in the use of these.
3. Freedom of speech is another right. Every man must have the right to think for himself and to express his thoughts freely without fear. If this cannot be done he must either think and keep on thinking and without the outlet of expression the time will inevitably come when there will be an

outbreak in spite of all attempts at repression. There is no greater safeguard than the right of free speech.

4. Very similar to this is the right of a free press, which is different from the former only in the expression of one's thought in printed form rather than in spoken form.
5. Associated with these two is freedom of the right to assemble and freely discuss any problem that affects the well being of the people of the country. Goldwin Smith, a famous British historian who was at one time a professor in Oxford University and later in Trinity University, Toronto, Canada was strongly in favor of the Union of Canada with the United States. He taught it in his classes, he spoke freely of it, he published articles in papers and wrote books on it, etc. But that was never considered to be treason. There were at one time in Canada three parties, one in favor of annexation to the U.S., one in favor of complete independence and a third wishing to retain its relationship to Great Britain as a colony. These parties freely discussed their views without any fear of being branded as traitors. When British Statesmen were asked what they would do if Canada asked for independence or for annexation they replied: "Canada can do as she wishes, while we would regret to see the tie between us and Canada broken, yet it is for Canada herself to say what would be for her own good. I may say that after hearing this, Canada preferred to remain within the British Empire and today, thirty years later, is more loyal to Great Britain than at any previous time.
6. Every free man is entitled himself to participate in the government. There is no human freedom when conditions are otherwise. A man cannot be free when he has no voice concerning the laws by which he is to be governed. That is, there must be in every free country a system of government in which all the people participate.

One thing that has troubled me in Korea during all the past number of years has been the constant display of the sword as the symbol of government. Who can love a man who always wears a sword? When I go to see Mr. Sekiya at his home, after office hours, when he has doffed his uniform and sword, and look on his benevolent countenance I feel that I can regard him as a friend. But when I visit him in his office, dressed in his uniform and wearing his sword, I stand before him in fear and trembling. Personally I do not think that Mr. Sekiya really likes his sword.

MR. SEKIYA: No, I do not like to wear a sword.

DR. AVISON: So I trust that Japan will stand with the Allies to the very end for the freedom of man.

MR. SEKIYA: I would say to Dr. Moffett that speaking frankly may seem un-Japanese. But we are always glad to hear, and will receive as expressions of friendly feeling anything he has to communicate to us and I hope he will always speak frankly to the authorities. In my official capacity I frequently meet foreign gentlemen and speak freely but they do not on that account consider me anti-foreign. Therefore I do not consider you anti-Japanese. If I may be permitted to make a suggestion to you foreigners, you will do well to speak very freely and without hesitation. You should speak directly to the government. Dr. Moffett need not fear that in saying anything we will consider him anti-Japanese. It is quite natural that anyone who has lived in this country for thirty years should have more sympathy for the Koreans than for the

Japanese. With Dr. Avison's speech I am much in accord, and I hope Japan will come to have just such a broad view, else we cannot govern Korea with success.

DR. GALE closed with some brief remarks.

(ibid, as above, first session)

Seoul, Korea

March 29 and 30, 1919

REPORT OF MEETINGS WITH MR. SEKIYA ON THE AFTERNOON OF SATURDAY,
MARCH 29 AND THE EVENING OF SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 1919

Bishop Welch and Dr. Avison asked Mr. Sekiya for an interview at his convenience. When they met, Mr. Ueda acted as interpreter. The object of the meeting was to ask Mr. Sekiya two questions concerning cruelties practiced by the police and gendarmes upon the Korean demonstrators. They were led to do this because Mr. Sekiya had said at the meeting convened by Judge Watanabe's invitation a few days previous that the authorities would welcome any such reports that we might wish to make. The two questions were first: In Mr. Sekiya's opinion should we make any report of cruelties and would such reports do any good? Second, if reports ought to be made, to whom should they be made?

Mr. Sekiya was first asked to explain the organization of the police and gendarme departments. He explained that the head of the army was General Utsonomiya, and that it acted quite independently of the police and gendarmes; that the police and gendarmes were under the control of General Kojima. He stated that, under ordinary circumstances the police department assumed responsibility for keeping order throughout the country without receiving special orders from the Governor General but that if the Governor General wished to give special orders to the police he could summon General Kojima in conference and issue such orders. A somewhat similar rule obtained in regard to the military department.

The conversation then turned to a number of cruelties which had come to the attention of Bishop Welch and Dr. Avison, and Mr. Sekiya said that while he had no doubt that such things had been done in certain places yet he felt sure that in most instances the Korean demonstrators had been the first to offer violence, and that their actions in attacking gendarmes and police in country places where they were but few in number had compelled the latter to use arms for their own protection and to protect government property. He offset cases which we put before him by quoting police reports of outrages done by Koreans. As to whether any good would be accomplished by reporting cases of cruelty he was unable to say, but he encouraged us to report them directly to himself, saying that he would see that they got before the proper authorities.

Mr. Sekiya then referred to the former request that the missionaries undertake to persuade those Koreans over whom they had any influence to cease from demonstrations and to return to

their normal quietness. The difficulties of the situation from the missionary standpoint were again explained in even more detail than on the former occasion in an endeavor to show Mr. Sekiya how impossible it was for the missionaries to take such a position as the government would like them to assume. Mr. Sekiya then asked what we would advise the Government to do in such cases as the present one. Dr. Avison replied that he could not give any advice to the government but suggested that if he himself were placed in such a position he would be able to see that the Koreans having no right of free speech and no right of publication and no right of assemblage were entirely unable to consult with one another as to what they ought to ask the government for, because if they met to talk over the political situation they were subject to immediate arrest and punishment, and so the only recourse left them was to make an outcry such as they are now making; and that the only cry that seemed to them possible as likely to attract the attention of the government and of the outside world as well as to unite Koreans themselves was the cry which they had made. I said that in such a case my first thought would be to tell the Koreans that the ban against free speech, free consultation, and free meetings had been lifted and that they might meet together freely and consult with one another and even publish for general reading their views without any fear of arrest, so that they might have an opportunity of finding out one another's opinions and coming to some more or less unanimous conclusion as to what they ought to demand. Mr. Sekiya asked Dr. Avison what he thought the Koreans would do if such were open to them. The latter replied that he did not know what the Koreans would do but he did know that if he himself were in such a place he would at once stop demonstrating and take advantage of the permission to meet and discuss, and then lay a petition before the government which represented the majority view of the people. Mr. Sekiya expressed interest in this proposal and said he would like to meet again. A meeting was arranged for at the Chosen Hotel at 7:30 Sunday.

SECOND CONFERENCE

The same persons were present as in above conference. Mr. Sekiya explained in detail some of the difficulties the people would have if they were given independence, such as those along educational and financial lines, and showed what the government had tried to do for the people educationally and agriculturally. He claimed that the first thought of the government had been for the largest group of Koreans, namely the agriculturists, and said that because of the poverty of the people it was absolutely necessary that these people should be enabled to earn more money so that the total riches of the country should be increased. The government perhaps had made a mistake in paying too much attention to the farming class and too little to the official class and to the smaller group of highly educated men whom they should perhaps have used in greater numbers in government service. The government had already planned to make a change in this regard, but felt that if the government had done this from the beginning the present trouble would not have occurred.

Dr. Avison replied that while this might be a good thing to do he did not think it touched the heart of the difficulty, and Mr. Sekiya at once replied "I know what you mean. You are thinking of the greater lines of freedom to which you formerly referred such as free speech and other matters pertaining to human liberty."

3/29 and 30/1919 — p.2 2nd conf. with Mr. Sekiya

The party then retired to the Hotel sitting room where they were joined by Col Maeda, second in command of the police department. Mr. Sekiya suggested that we should report to Col. Maeda in person any instances of cruelty that had come before us. We reported on a number of these, and Col. Maeda then said that the police had reports of 38 different places in which the gendarmes and police had used arms, and that in all these instances the Koreans had been the first to use violence, and that in nearly all such cases the police had been but few in number, perhaps three to five, and often only one or two of these Japanese! - that the people coming in great numbers, several hundreds, — or even in some cases thousands — had made a rush on the police station, tried to destroy it, and the police had been compelled to use weapons in their own defense and in defense of property. He mentioned in particular one place where four gendarmes were located, only one of them being a Japanese, and as a result of the onset of

3/29,30/1919 — p.3 meetings

the Koreans all four of them had been killed, and the wife of the Japanese gendarme had defended herself as long as she could with a pistol, and then had retired and put on Korean clothes and in that way made her escape. The whole tenor of Col. Maeda's remarks tended to show that in the opinion of the Japanese authorities no force had been used by the police and gendarmes greater than was made necessary by the violent actions of the demonstrators.

Mr. Thomas' case was referred to and the Colonel said that it had been found that the police had not beaten Mr. Thomas but that he had been beaten by Japanese civilians who had been standing by and who had been inflamed by reports that a foreigner was the instigator of the demonstrations in that part of the country, and when they saw a foreigner being arrested they were so inflamed that they made an attack upon him. Bishop Welch asked if it was not the duty of the police in such cases to protect the prisoner and Col Maeda replied that they were so outnumbered by the civilians that it had been impossible to do so in this case.

We asked about the arrest and beating of the five seminary students in Pyongyang who had come in on the train to attend Seminary and who were found sitting quietly in one of the Seminary rooms. The police carried them off to the police station and each man was tied down to a cross shaped board which they use on such occasions and given 29 strokes. Col. Maeda explained that it was lawful for the police after they had arrested men to determine whether the case was one to be held over for further investigation or whether it could be dealt with summarily, and that they had authority in such cases to give a certain amount of punishment and that probably this number, 29 strokes, was quite within their province. Dr. Avison said that this might be so in the case of wrong-doing and of the administration of punishment, but in this case there had been no rioting, and why should there have been punishment administered without any investigation? The Col. replied that a full report had not yet been received from Pyongyang but that it was being investigated.

Before the close of the conference Col. Maeda said that the Koreans had been becoming more and more violent during the latter part of the demonstrations, and so there had been more frequent collisions between them and the police, and he feared that these demonstrations were going to grow still more violent which would lead to more frequent and bloody collisions between the people and police which was, of course, much to be regretted but would probably be

3/29 & 30/1919 – p.3 second conf. with Mr. Sekiya
inevitable. He stated that he would welcome reports from us at any time and that such reports
would be carefully investigated.

This closed the interview.

(Stated at beginning of report: PRIVATE, NOT TO BE PUBLISHED. Carbon copy in Samuel
Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers. Another copy appears to be in the
files of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.)

Pyongyang, Korea

April 7, 1919

Samuel A. Moffett

Honorable Leo Bergholz
American Consul General, Seoul, Korea

Dear Mr. Bergholz:-

On April 2nd and 3rd there was a systematic canvass of the city houses and students from Mission schools were arrested, some of them beaten, some soon dismissed and others detained under arrest. Word from the Chief of Police to one of our Japanese professors was that students entering school for the new term must be sent to the Police Station where they would be examined. As in the minds of all, such arrest was usually accompanied with beating and kicking and such mistreatment before any investigation or inquiry as to conduct, it was impossible to expect any students to enroll. And so for the Academy two students came, one former student and one new one, they disappearing, however, upon the appearance of the Prefect and his interpreter with swords who came to inquire as to the prospects of opening the school. At the College one student came but left at once upon hearing what the Chief of Police had said.

That afternoon, April 4th, about 4:30 p.m. when most of the missionaries had gathered for a prayer meeting at Mrs. Holdcroft's home, a cordon of police and gendarmes was suddenly picketed all about our property, and procurators and police and gendarmes began to search our residences. We were telephoned to from one of the houses. I immediately went to my house, found the compound gates shut and gendarmes on guard, about twenty police and gendarmes picketing the compound and upon going into the house I found my wife and children watching some sixteen to twenty gendarmes, police and detectives in charge of a procurator and his interpreter already searching three rooms. I asked the headman if he had a search warrant and he replied: "No, it is not necessary." I said, "I cannot give my consent to the search." He then gave me his card and I said: "Of course you can forcibly search but it will be without my consent." He said that that would be alright. (I judge that as he was a procurator he had the legal right to search even without my consent.) They spread through the whole house and in my study and in Mrs. Moffett's bedroom made a most thorough search of desks, drawers, bureaus, papers, letters, etc., even going into my property deeds and the safe.

They were not rude nor disrespectful and one said that he did not like the job but had to do as he was ordered. However, it was anything but pleasant to have to endure the indignity of having twenty officers, gendarmes, police and detectives take possession of everything in order to find practically nothing. In my study among my secretary's papers in the drawer of his desk they found the following inconsequential things:

1. A copy of the program of the Prince Yi Memorial service and the Independence service of March 1st written in ink in Korean.

A small piece of paper with a statement in Korean of the number of men killed and the numbers of those who had taken part from the several villages of Anju, in the demonstration.

3. An envelope directed to the Theological Seminary, coming through the mail with stamp and postmark on it, containing five copies of the Independence Newspaper. This had come when I was in Seoul and [it] was in the Secretary's desk where my Korean letters are placed.

None of the above had I ever seen before and the procurator's interpreter afterwards told me that my secretary also denied knowledge of the first two.

After searching the house they searched the out-buildings, the guest house and an empty Korean house in the lower part of my compound where my Bible woman and her son, my secretary had lived for years and which they again had permission to occupy. As we were trying to open the front door of the guest house my secretary came out of the back room where apparently he had been sleeping for several nights. (I did not know he had occupied this room, although he had had my permission since February to reoccupy the Korean house where he had formerly lived - that is to say, this house in the lower part of the compound.) They seized him, tied him and according to the statement of my two sons who saw it (I did not see it), they hit him, kicked him, punched him, his nose bleeding, and one man hit him across the cheek with a short whip. In the empty Korean house referred to they found two copies of a mimeographed notice in Korean, thin paper rolled up into a small ball and thrown away. The detective told me that a boy had confessed that several of them had taken my mimeograph from the study and printed notices in that empty house. I, of course, knew nothing of it and if true it was probably done during my nine days absence in Seoul, March 17th to 26th.

While searching my house, the houses of Miss Snook, Mr. Mowry, Mr. Gillis, Mr. McMurtrie, Mr. Reiner, Dr. Baird and the Foreign School Dormitory were also searched. Miss Butts refused permission to search that house as they had no warrant and their supply of procurators being short, there was no procurator in that party of police and they refrained from searching her house. At Miss Snook's house they arrested the matron, cook (a woman) and a young man, Miss Salmon's secretary, searching Miss Salmon's room very carefully. At Mr. Mowry's they arrested a teacher of the City Church School who was leaving just as the police came, he having come to see Mr. Mowry, the principal, about the opening of school that day, also a student who had just been released from jail and had come to tell Mr. Mowry about his release. I think another boy was taken there and I understand they expressed disappointment at not finding Mr. Mowry's Secretary. At Mr. Gillis' house they arrested a boy who had been working in his garden for two weeks, a theological student from the country who had come in, and a medical student from Seoul, formerly a student here. These three had hidden in the house before Mr. Gillis returned from prayer meeting. In Mr. Reiner's yard, who had been somewhere on the compound and who was trying to escape, [a young man] gave himself up to the gendarmes who proceeded to beat him, strike him in the head and knock him down, after which they kicked him in the head several times. At Dr. Baird's they arrested a College student who was acting as secretary for him.

So far as I know, there was nothing wrong about any of these, being on our places or in our houses, most of them having regular occupations. But as the whole population is fearful of unlawful beatings, some of them when they saw the police coming, hid and tried to escape capture. They searched my cook also but did not arrest him. They marched off with their captives and went through the Seminary dormitories from which they took another mimeograph and breaking two windows in the Southern Presbyterian Cottage for Professors I am told arrested a man who had gone in there. Three men came back and asked to take the mimeographs from

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my study, to which I consented, asking for a receipt, which they said I could get the next day at the police office. That night between seven and eight o'clock, Mr. Mowry telephoned me that a messenger from the police office had come asking him and me to go down. I met them at my gate and we went down together. We were shown into a small room where were three police and sat down waiting for thirty-five minutes before Mr. Mowry was called out for examination. While waiting we were talking together in English when one of the policemen said, "You are not allowed to talk." Surprised, I replied, "What, are we under arrest?" He jumped up at once, and said "wait a minute", went out and came back shortly saying, "Never mind, it is all right." I replied, "Of course it is," and we continued our conversation. After Mr. Mowry was called out I was kept waiting another hour and was then called out for examination before the procurator and his interpreter who had searched my house, also a scribe [?] and for a part of the time another elderly official. They were very polite and very pointed in their questions, asking particularly about my knowledge of or connection with the Independence meeting of March 1st, about my secretary, his being on my place, and about the keys of the house in which he had been and whether he could have had the use of the key without my knowledge, about the use of my mimeographs, whether with my consent and knowledge as to the use to which they had been put. They asked about the three papers found in my Secretary's desk in my study and about my absence in Seoul, about the salaries of my Bible woman and secretary and my own financial condition, saying that I was reputed to be very wealthy, owning much land. After an hour's questioning in which they learned that I knew nothing, had consented to nothing and was in no way a party to or knew anything which may have been done by my secretary or others on the place or with my mimeograph (the secretary always having full access to the mimeograph for secretarial work), that I had stayed in Seoul on account of medical work for my wife and child at the Hospital and that the land in my name was the property of the Board of Missions of the Church and of Schools, they finished the examination.

I then made request for a policeman to accompany me and Mr. Mowry home as it was nearly midnight and a missionary had recently been stopped at night on the way to the railway station by two Japanese armed with clubs and it was not safe for foreigners to be out at night. They said there was no danger but I called their attention to the fact that the Japanese papers were publishing abusive articles about us and that the low class Japanese had great hatred towards us. They consented to send a policeman asking me to wait a little while, and I was shown into the main office of the police station where I saw sitting on the floor at one end the group of students and secretaries who had been arrested that afternoon and Dr. Baird's translator who had been arrested the night before. I asked if I might speak to them but was refused permission to do so. After waiting some twenty minutes the procurator and his interpreter came in and said that they would send a policeman home with me. I suggested that I wait for Mr. Mowry but they said that his examination was not yet finished and that I had better go first. I then asked to see Mr. Mowry to tell him that I was going out and would relieve his wife's anxiety by telling her that they would send a policeman with him a little later. One said, "He is now being examined but I will tell him." I then went, accompanied by a Korean policeman, but could not waken Mrs. Mowry so went home. I did not sleep well and in the morning had a hard headache so stayed in bed. About seven o'clock Mrs. Mowry telephoned Mr. McMurtrie that Mr. Mowry had not come home and asked if I had. He came to see me and I suggested that he get Mr. Bernheisel and at once go to

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the police station, ascertain the situation and if Mr. Mowry were under arrest, to ask the nature of the charges, telegraph you at once, ask to see Mr. Mowry and send him food. Mr. Bernheisel will write you what followed. I hope that I have not written in too great detail but it seems better to write some things which may seem of trivial import rather than leave out the very things you may wish to know.

Saturday afternoon, April 5th, five of those arrested were released, Miss Snook's matron, cook, Miss Salmon's secretary, the City School teacher, Mr. Gillis' working boy and Dr. Baird's secretary; and on Sunday morning Dr. Baird's translator was released, the translator reporting that while he was not beaten the others had been shamefully beaten while being examined. Saturday afternoon Mr. Mowry's secretary, who graduated from the College in March, came to Mr. McMurtrie's and said that he thought it best to give himself up to the police and not to try to escape from arrest. We then arranged that Mr. Bernheisel should go to the police office, Dr. Moore [J.Z. Moore, Methodist] taking him down in his auto and report to the police that this secretary was ready to deliver himself up if they would send out a man for him. Dr. Moore brought the man, a detective who knows all the students, back in his auto, and Mr. Mowry's secretary, Yi Po Sik, came out from Mr. McMurtrie's and gave himself up. Mr. McMurtrie accompanied him and the detective in the auto to the police station and we thus secured him immunity from beating on the way. The secretary did this on his own initiative. He asked me for advice, but I told him that he would have to decide for himself. When the police came on Friday, he had hidden and escaped arrest.

This is all I need to report now. I shall write you later commenting on the situation. I would say, however, that personally I do not believe Mr. Mowry has done anything which renders him liable to the law.

Yours very sincerely,

Samuel A. Moffett

P.S. I am sending you herewith three copies of this letter.

(carbon copy in the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Pyongyang, Korea

no date listed

Charles F. Bernheisel

Hon. Leo Bergholz, American Consul General, Seoul, Chosen

Dear Sir:

Dr. S.A. Moffett having sent you a report of the events up to the time when he left Mr. Mowry at the Police Station in Pyongyang [Friday night, April 4th], I will carry on through the next day, Saturday April 5th.

Mr. Mowry, not having returned home from the police office by breakfast time Saturday morning, Mr. McMurtrie and the writer went down to the police office to inquire. They told me that he had been examined there the previous night and being found guilty of crime had been sent to the prison. They refused to tell us what the charge against him was. They told us to seek any further information from the court house of the prison.

On the way to the prison we stopped at the post office to send you a telegram that Mr. Mowry was imprisoned.

At the prison they [confirmed that] Mr. Mowry was there but could not give us any information concerning him but referred us to the public procurator. We then went to see this official. When asked as to the reasons for the imprisonment he said the question was now being inquired into and until the inquiry was finished he could not specify the charge. Asked whether he was liable to be confined for some time or not the reply was that many persons were concerned in the affair all of whom would have to be examined so that it would probably take a long time to finish the examination. He gave us a paper to see the prison officials allowing us to go in and see Mr. Mowry. Mr. McMurtrie went on home but I went to the prison and after waiting an hour or so was granted an interview with Mr. Mowry. We were required to converse in the Korean language and nothing was to be said about the case.

Mr. Mowry said that he was in a room by himself which room was very good except that there was a privy in one corner from which bad odors arose. He said that the attendant was a very kind man and that he was being very well treated. He said to tell his wife that he was all right and for her not to worry about him.

The interview being at an end I came away. The prison officials requested that his meals be sent him from his home and this [is] being done. Bedding and magazines were allowed to be sent in to him but they refused to allow a cot, a chair and a bottle of medicine to go in.

They said there is a doctor in the prison and that in case of illness the doctor would give his services.

Very respectfully submitted,
C. F. Bernheisel

(carbon copy in the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

PETITION BY VISCOUNTS KIM YOON SIK AND YI YONG CHIK

April 9, 1919

A way of doing things is good only as it accords with the times; and a Government succeeds only when it makes its people happy. If the way is not in keeping with the age it is not a perfect way; and if a government fails to make a people [happy] it is not a good government.

It is now ten years since Korea was annexed to Japan and though there has resulted from it no little profit to the people with the clearing away of abuses, still it cannot be said to have made the people happy.

Today when the call for independence is given in the street ten thousand voices answer in response. In ten days and less the whole nation vibrates to its echo, and even the women and the children vie with each other to join in the shout. When those in the front fall others take their places with no fear of death in their hearts. What is the reason for such a state of things as this? Our view is, that having borne with pain and stifled to the point of bursting, and being unable to repress it further, at last they have found expression and like the overflowing of the Whang-Ho River the waves have broken all bounds, and once having broken away, its power will brook no return. We call this an expression of the people, but is it not rather the mind of God Himself?

There are two ways of treating the conditions today, one a kind way and one the way of repression. The liberal way should speak kindly, soothe and comfort so as to remove fears and misgivings. But in that case there would be an end to the demonstrations. The use of force, on the other hand, that would cut down, uproot, beat to pieces, extinguish, will but rouse it the more and never conquer its spirit. If you do not get at the cause you will never settle the matter.

The people, now roused to action, desire restored to them that they once possessed in order that the shame of their slavery be removed. They have nothing but bare hands, and a tongue with which to speak the resentment they feel. You can tell by this that no wicked motive underlies their thoughts.

The good and superior man would pity and forgive such as this, and view it with tender sympathy. We hear, however, that the Government is arresting people right and left, till they fill the prisons. There they whip, beat and torture them until they die violent deaths beneath it. The Government also uses weapons till the dead lie side by side, and we are unable to endure the dreadful stories we hear.

Nevertheless the whole state rises only the more, and the greater the force used to put it down, the greater the disturbances. How comes it that you look not to the cause but think to cut the manifestation of it by force? Though you cut down and kill those who rise up everywhere, you may change the face of things but the heart of it never. Every man has written in his soul the word "Independence", and those who in their rooms shout for it are beyond the possibility of numbering. Will you arrest and kill them all?

A man's life is not something to be dealt with as the grass that grows. In ancient times

Mencius said to King Soon of the Che Kingdom, "If by taking possession of the state you can make the people of Yun happy, take possession, but if taking possession will render them miserable, forbear to do it." Though Mencius thus spoke, the king paid no attention, and, as a result, came to a place where he finally said he was greatly ashamed. This is indeed a mirror from history worthy to be looked into. Even the Sage cannot run counter to the times in which he lives. We read [the] mind of God in the attitude of the people. If the people are not made happy history tells us that there is no way by which their land can be held in possession.

We, your servants, have come on these times of danger and difficulty. Old and shameless are we, for when our country was annexed we accepted the rank of nobility, held office and lived in disgrace, till seeing these innocent people of ours in the fire and water, are unable to endure the sight longer. Thus we, too, in the privacy of our rooms have shouted for independence just like the others.

Fearing not presumption on our part we speak forth our hearts in the hope that Your Excellency will be in accord here with and let His Imperial Majesty know so that the Cabinet may consider it and set right the cause, not by more soft words, nor by force, but in accord with the opportunity that Heaven above grants and the wishes of the people speak. Thus may Japan give independence to Korea and let her justice be known to the whole world including those nations with whom she is in treaty relation. Undoubtedly, all will once again resume the light and splendor of her way. Who will not look with praise and commendation on this act of yours?

We, your servants, behind closed doors, ill and indisposed, and knowing not the mind of the world, offer our poor woodsmen's counsel to the state. If you accede to it countless numbers of people will be made happy, but if you refuse we two alone will suffer. We have reached the bourne of life and so we offer ourselves a sacrifice for our people. Though we die for it we have no complaints to make. In our sick chamber, with age upon us, we know not how to speak persuasively. We pray Your Excellency to kindly give this your consideration. In a word this is what our hearts would say.

Pyeng Yang, Korea

April 18, 1919

Moffett, Reiner, Moore, Baird

To the Press Representatives in Pyeng Yang,

Gentlemen:

Your communication with its friendly request for a conference on the present situation was received. Very urgent business which has occupied our time and attention has prevented an earlier reply.

We appreciate the spirit in which you make your request and under ordinary conditions a conference between missionaries and the press representatives might be proper and profitable, but in view of the fact that we are not only missionaries but also American citizens, and that the American Department of State is strongly opposed to Americans in Korea giving public expression as to their views in matters political or taking any part in political affairs, and as we are not expected to discuss political or administrative questions, we have been very careful to refrain from all participation in any of the political questions now before the public.

On the question of an accurate report of events for the papers, we feel that it is not necessary for us to assume to render assistance to men who are so fully informed and who have been selected for that work because of their ability along that line. Of course we desire that all accounts which have to do with us or our work should be strictly in accord with the facts, and knowing as we do that the American missionaries have in no way instigated or had part in the present agitation we deplore the false reports and the misrepresentations of the attitude of American missionaries as made in some of the papers in Japan and Korea.

We feel that a conference between us might be misunderstood by many as a participation in political affairs, and as we are careful to maintain strictly neutral conduct, we politely decline your request. At the same time we thank you for your courtesy in the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

In behalf of

Messrs. Moffett, Reiner, Moore, Baird

[Samuel Austin Moffett, Ralph O. Reiner, John Z. Moore, William Martyn Baird]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

[notes written hastily on thin paper describing incidents related to Japanese brutality against Koreans]

On 8th and 9th of March soldiers and police came looking for the pastor and officers of church and on 19th & 24th policemen came. Then on 4th of April the Japanese gendarmes and police came and demanded of some of the women where their husbands were. Failing to find out, they beat five women with clubs and guns, the wife of one of the Elders being beaten until the great red bruises showed all over her body. On the 16th of April under threats, the lower class people in village tore down the belfry of the church and the next day the gendarmes came to see what had been done. On the 18th the Japanese came again - and addressing the people through an interpreter, said the Christians had been deceived by the "foreign devils", were an ignorant low down lot of people and should be driven out to go and live with the Americans who had corrupted them, that there was nothing in the Bible about "Independence" and the shouting of "Mansei", that 3000 cavalry and 3000 soldiers were coming in to destroy all the Christians and that if the people did not drive out the Christians but continued to live together they would all be shot and killed. He ordered them to drive out the Christians under threat of being shot within two days.

[placed in *Independence Movement* files, S.A. Moffett papers, archives of Princeton Theological Seminary]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Pyongyang, Korea

April 21, 1919

S.A. Moffett

Rev. A.J. Brown, D.D.
156 5th Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Brown:

These are busy days and I have not been able to send to you the information I should like to have sent.

I enclose copies of two statements drawn up by me which I think you should have. They explain themselves.

Judgment was rendered on April 19th, and [it] was for six months penal servitude. Between the sudden trial and the judgment we had secured a lawyer and as soon as judgment was rendered an appeal was filed and application made for release on bail. Mr. Mowry was out on bail by two o'clock on the 19th. The American Vice-Consul was present when judgment was given.

The Appeal trial will probably take place between May 1st and 10th, and doubtless the result will be cabled to America. We understand the State Department is communicating to you the information sent by the Consul-General.

We have every confidence that Mr. Mowry will be acquitted in the appeal court unless of course for political reasons the powers that be decide that conviction is necessary regardless of the evidence.

We are living in strange times and under strange conditions and do not know what may come to pass.

There is much I want to write but cannot.

I am sending this to make sure you get these documents.

Very sincerely,

Samuel A. Moffett

Enclosures: 1 copy of statement of search of houses and arrest of Mr. Mowry
1 copy of proceedings at trial of Mr. Mowry

(carbon copy in files of Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers. A copy also presumably in the archival collections of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Phila.)

Report on the Trial of the Rev. E.M. Mowry
in the Local Court, Pyeng Yang, Korea

On Thursday, April 10th, I secured permission from the public Procurator, Mr. Itano, to see Mr. Mowry on the 11th and to have Mrs. Mowry see him on the 12th. At the same time I learned that the investigation was not yet finished and I preferred the request that when the investigation was finished, in case that he was held for trial, I should be notified. On the 11th I saw Mr. Mowry and was permitted to talk with him 15 or 20 minutes, but we were not allowed to say anything concerning the case. A detective intimated to me that he would probably be sent to Seoul for examination. On the 12th Mrs. Mowry saw him and again it was intimated that he would not be detained long. Monday afternoon the 14th I received a telephone message from the Methodist hospital saying that a gendarme had requested them to tell me that Mr. Mowry's trial would be held tomorrow at 10 o'clock, the 15th. Coming in directly and at such short notice, I hardly credited the report, but on the morning of the 15th Mr. Bernheisel and I went to the judicial building shortly before 10 o'clock and learned that the public trial was to be held that morning. Sometime after 10 o'clock we were requested to go into the court room, where we found the court convened with the judge, procurator, interpreter and clerk on the bench, several military officers behind them, Mr. Mowry seated below, six gendarmes and policemen on guard, three Japanese reporters and some thirty or forty Korean and Japanese spectators. Mr. Mowry was requested to stand up and the following examination took place conducted by the judge through an interpreter:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Q. What is your name? | A. E.M. Mowry. |
| Q. What is your age? | A. 39. |
| Q. What is your profession? | A. Missionary. |
| Q. Where is your residence? | A. Pyeng Yang, Sin Yang Li |
| Q. Where was your original residence in America? | A. Mansfield, Ohio, U.S. |

The charge was then read; that knowing that police were searching for them you gave permission for the following boys to remain in your house: Yi Kyunho, Kim Taisul and Yi Insun from the 2nd to the 4th day of April, Yi Posik for 10 days, and Kil Chinkyung for several days.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Q. Do you understand Korean? | A. Fairly well. |
| Q. Do you raise any objection to the conduct of the trial in Korean? | A. No. |
| Q. Have you any decorations? | A. No. |
| Q. Have you received any punishment? | A. No. |
| Q. What is your religion? | A. Christian |
| Q. What is your denomination? | A. Presbyterian |
| Q. What education have you received? | A. Primary school, Middle school,
Wooster College, Ohio, and Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, PA. |
| Q. How much property have you? | A. About 2,000 yen |
| Q. What family? | A. Wife and 2 children |

- Q. Do they live here? A. Yes.
- Q. When did you come to Korea? A. 1909
- Q. For what purpose? A. As a missionary.
- Q. Did you come direct? A. Yes.
- Q. Direct to Pyeng Yang? A. Yes.
- Q. What has been your occupation since coming to Pyeng Yang? A. Teaching in the Soong Sil School (Union Christian College).
- Q. What is your relation to the church? A. No special relation.
- Q. What is your relation to the schools? A. Teacher in the Soong Sil school, Principal of the Soong Duk school (Boys' Grammar school in City), Principal of the Soong Hyun school (Girls' Grammar school in City).
- Q. How long have you taught in the Soong Sil school? A. Since 1911.
- Q. Continuously? A. Yes, except one year spent in America.
- Q. Did you teach in both College and Academy? A. In the College only.
- Q. What did you teach? A. Zoology, Physiology, Geology and English
- Q. Did you teach in the Theological Seminary? A. No.
- Q. Did you teach in the Soong Duk school? A. Yes, a little English.
- Q. Do you know Yi Posik? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you teach him? A. Yes.
- Q. Had you specially friendly relations with him? A. Yes, as my secretary.
- Q. For how long? A. About six years.
- Q. Until when? A. Until my arrest.
- Q. Did you give him any school expenses? A. Yes, for about 5 years.
- Q. Do you know Kil Chinkyung? A. Yes.
- Q. What was his relation to you? A. I know him very well, and his brother was a special friend.
- Q. What was his brother's name? A. Kil Chinyung.
- Q. Did you visit his house? A. (Did not hear answer).
- Q. Did you give him school expenses or any special teaching? A. No.
- Q. Do you know Yi Kyumho? A. Yes.
- Q. Were you particularly friendly? A. Yes.
- Q. Did he visit your house? A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know Yi Insyun? A. Yes.
- Q. Had you any special relation to him? A. He was a pupil and I knew him well in school and at the Central Church which we both attended.
- Q. Did you provide him any school expenses or any special teaching? A. No.
- Q. Did he visit your house? A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know Kim Taisul? A. Yes.
- Q. Did he also act as your secretary? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you furnish his school expenses? A. Only his salary as secretary.
- Q. How much was that? A. He was paid by the hour, ten sen per hour.
- Q. What did he do? A. Several kinds of work; translation and copying of music.
- Q. Was he at your house only during the day, and at night at his house? A. That was his custom.
- Q. Sometimes did he sleep at your house? A. No.

- Q. When did he become your secretary? A. The 19th of January.
- Q. Did you go to the Soong Duk school on March 1st? A. No.
- Q. Were you at the Prince Yi Memorial Service? A. No.
- Q. Did you not know of the meeting at the school of which you are Principal? A. I knew of the meeting but was not invited to go.
- Q. Did they ask to use the grounds for the service and you give your consent? A. No.
- Q. Had you no relation to it, or had someone else charge and gave consent? A. I had nothing to do with it. There is someone in charge, but I do not know whether he gave consent.
- Q. Did you know of the Independence following the service? A. Yes, I knew of it that afternoon
- Q. Did you hear that the Christians and students met there for an Independence meeting? A. I heard of it.
- Q. Did you hear that they had read the declaration of independence, made a speech, raised the Korean flag, etc.? A. Yes, I heard of it.
- Q. Did you know that they shouted "mansei" and went down into the streets shouting it? A. Yes, I heard of it and also saw it.
- Q. Did you know of the order of exercises? A. No.
- Q. From whom did you hear these things? A. I do not know from what individual, as I heard it from so many.
- Q. Did you hear it from students, foreigners or Christians? Yes, from all of them.
- Q. What hour did you come to the street and see the demonstration? A. In the afternoon, on the big road to the College only. I went into the city but did not see it there.
- Q. Did you see any of these five boys shouting "mansei"? A. No.
- Q. Did you hear that they had? A. No.
- Q. Did you know that the police were searching for them for shouting "mansei"? A. No, I knew of no special word concerning them.
- Q. Did you hear that the police were searching for all students who had taken part in the demonstrations? A. Yes, but where I heard it I do not know.
- Q. When did you hear it? A. On the 4th of April when we were to open school I heard that Mr. Narahashi had said that all students would be arrested.
- Q. You heard from Mr. Narahashi that all students would be arrested? A. Not directly from him, but in the discussion among the teachers that day, it was said that this report came from him.
- Q. Did this apply to both College and Academy students? A. Yes, I think so.
- Q. On March 5th did Yi Posik come and ask to stay at your house? A. He was at our house, but for what reason he did not say, and I do not know what he said.
- Q. Did he ask to stay there because there was no other place to stay? A. I have no recollection of just what he said.
- Q. From the 5th to the 14th of March was he at your house, and did he eat there? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you give him blankets, etc., to sleep at your house? A. Yes.
- Q. Did he sleep one night in a certain room and after that in a certain room? A. Yes.
- Q. Did he stay at your house all the time and not go out? A. No, he went out.

- Q. Both night and day? A. I suppose so.
- Q. Yi Posik said he was hiding. Did you know that also? A. He did not say so to me, but one day I guessed that that was true.
- Q. You guessed that he was hiding, and kept him? A. As a host I received him as a guest, but told him that I could not protect him if he were doing anything he should not.
- Q. You said that you guessed he was hiding but said that you could not protect him, and let him stay? A. Yes.
- Q. Did Kil Chinkyung come to your house at night on the 7th of March? A. I do not know the day.
- Q. Did you guess that he was fleeing from arrest? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you consent to his staying? A. I told him that I could receive him as a guest but could not protect him.
- Q. His mother was anxious about him and did she send him there, and you consented to his staying? A. I guessed at it only but had no knowledge of it.
- Q. Did he come as though frightened? A. No, he came out early and in the evening said that he wanted to stay all night.
- Q. Since he was living with his mother, would you not think that in coming to the house of a foreigner that there was something up? A. Yes, Koreans often slept at my house, and I could only guess at it in view of the times.
- Q. Yi Posik and Kil Chinkyung slept in the same room? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you give Kil Chinkyung food? A. Yes.
- Q. Did you know that three of the boys had mimeographed something in the empty house on Dr. Moffett's compound and also at the Theological Seminary? A. No.
- Q. If you did not know that, did you know that they secretly distributed announcements and that the police were hunting for them? A. I did know that the police were trying to arrest such men, but did not know those boys had done it.
- Q. You knew the police were specially hunting for such? A. No.
- Q. Did you not hear that they were specially hunting for such? A. No, I knew it not.
- Q. Did these three boys come to your house on the 1st day of April? A. They came one day but what day I do not know. One day Yi Insyun and Yi Kyunho came and said they would sleep there and I said alright.
- Q. Did you guess the police were hunting for them? A. I guessed it but that night thought nothing of it. The next day I did think of it and told them that while I had let them sleep there I could not protect them if they were doing anything they should not.
- Q. Did you give them blankets and food? A. Blankets, but no food.
- Q. Yi Insyun says that on April 1st he came to you and you saw he was fleeing and you gave him permission to sleep there, and that on the 2nd he said to you he was fleeing from arrest. Also Kim Taisul was at Miss Doriss' house on April 3rd and came to you requesting to stay at your house. Is that so? A. I consented to Yi Insyun's staying there but did not to Kim Taisul, and Yi Insyun said nothing to me about fleeing from arrest.
- Q. You knew they were after Kim Taisul and consented to his staying? A. I did not know they were particularly after him.
- Q. You guessed at it? A. Yes, from his frightened appearance.
- Q. They slept there the 1st, 2nd and 3rd days? A. (answer not heard).

- Q. One stayed three days, one two days and one for one day? A. Yes.
- Q. Two slept in the study? A. Yes.
- Q. On the 3rd two slept in the bedroom? A. Yes.
- Q. You gave them bedding and food? A. Bedding, but no food.
- Q. You gave them blankets only? A. Yes.
- Q. Where did they eat? A. I do not know.
- Q. How could you not know when they were in the same house? A. I did not know.
- Q. They must have eaten. A. I do not know; not at our house.
- Q. Have you a Korean cook? A. Yes.
- Q. Who is he? A. Kim Yungchip.
- Q. Does he live in an outhouse near you? A. Yes.
- Q. Did he feed them? A. I do not know.
- Q. Do you give him wages but not provide his food? A. Yes.
- Q. The three bought food from your cook at so much per table. Did you know it? A. No.
- Q. Has he...(I did not catch the question)? A. I do not know.
- Q.(did not catch this question either) A. (the answer was indistinct, but was something about 'too many guests' and 'I did not....').
- Q. Did you give food to Yi Kyunho? A. No.
- Q. It seems, then, that you guessed that the police were trying to catch these five boys and when they asked to sleep at your house you took pity on them and let them stay. As you are an American you are no relation of those five Koreans? A. No.
- Q. They were acquaintances and students? A. Yes.

The interpreter then read a statement of evidence which had been secured from students, which briefly was as follows:

Kim Taisul says that he slept with Yi Insyun at your house on the 4th day of April. Yi Insyun also says that he was fleeing from the police and asked if he could sleep there and that you consented. Kil Chinkyung says that he spent two nights and saw Yi Posik there and that he slept with him. He said that he visited at Mowry's house and that you seemed to know that he was fleeing. Yi Posik says that Mr. Mowry must have guessed that he was hiding. He says: "I was there in March - - - - days." Yi Kyunho says that he was at Mowry's house one night in April and that you probably knew that he was hiding. He was with Yi Insyun also. Yi Posik, when examined for the third time, said he slept in a small room and after in a bedroom with Kil Chinkyung. Kil Chinkyung says that he slept one night in a small room and after that in a bedroom with Yi Posuk. Yi Kyunho says that he slept there on April 1st.

The judge then proceeded:

- Q. Taking this evidence into consideration you allowed them to sleep there. Have you anything to show that you have not violated the law? A. I allowed them to stay as guests, but I did not hide them as fugitives. I made no effort to conceal them, and I told them I could not do so. I told them that I knew of nothing they had done which was wrong and that they must not do anything wrong while at my house, and that I could not conceal or protect them.
- Q. Then you think that if they had said they were criminals and asked to be concealed, it would have been a crime but otherwise not? A. If I had been informed that the police were

trying to arrest them and had concealed them it would have been wrong, but I did not know that they were criminals. If anyone had come to arrest them then and I had concealed them it would have been wrong.

- Q. When they came to arrest them, since you did not conceal them you think it was no crime. Have you anything to say in defense? A. Nothing that I can think of. Concerning this matter nothing further, but concerning the independence movement I would say that I had nothing whatever to do with it, and kept free from it, and as an American, told them that I could have nothing to do with it.
- Q. Have you anything else to say? A. When asked by Koreans about this Independence Movement I said I could say nothing about it, and could give no advice.
- Q. What is your Korean name? A. Mo Oi Ri.

The prosecutor then arose and spoke. He said: "From the evidence and from your own statement it appears that all the students were to be arrested and you in part knew it, or guessed that the boys who fled to your house, were fleeing. And the boys say that they asked to be hidden and yet you say you did not know clearly that they were asking protection. This is the same as knowing, and while there may be a difference in the gravity of the crime yet both are a violation of the law. The law provides a punishment of imprisonment of two years or less or a fine of ¥200 or less. During March from Seoul to Pyeng Yang the Christian people were all engaged in demonstrations and this has continued until now and has not yet been quieted, and because of that - - - - while rumors say that certain people are inciting the Koreans it seems that many have been doing so and are therefore guilty. In the American possessions of Hawaii and the Philippines there are those who oppose President Wilson, and if in these countries agitators for independence were concealed by the Japanese there, what would the American officials do? It would be a crime for the Japanese there to conceal criminals. There is no doubt guilt in this case even though you say that you did not know it was wrong. It is impossible not to suspect Christianity in this matter and you concealed those who agitated for independence. Your crime is a grave one but on one side your taking employee and students who had no place to [go] was in a sense a manifestation of human kindness (insim). I demand a sentence of six months imprisonment, (and think that you should look on this as a light sentence). (this last sentence uncertain - S.A.M.)

The interpreter then spoke. "Did you understand the Procurator's address?" A. I understood it fairly well. (taikang turesso.)

- Q. Have you anything to say in way of argument?
Mr. Mowry evidently misunderstood the Procurator's request for a six months sentence, and said: "What has been decided upon? Is six months the decision?"
- Q. Do you consider that you are not guilty? A. Since I said that I had no intention of concealing them I have committed no crime. If I had been given any information of the desire to arrest them and had concealed them it would have been wrong, but there was no such information given me and no attempt to arrest had been made there.
- Q. 'E.M.' in your name is for what? A. My full name is Eli Miller Mowry.

The judge then said, "The trial is ended. The judgment will be rendered at ten o'clock on

the 19th.”

The wicker basket was then put on Mr. Mowry's face and head and he was led off by a policeman. We went at once to Mr. Itano, a Procurator, not the one in the trial, and asked if in accord with Japanese law no opportunity was given for securing a lawyer before proceeding to trial. He said, "You had a right to secure a lawyer, and I sent word to you yesterday afternoon that the trial would take place today." We asked when Mr. Mowry knew that his trial was to take place today, and he said, "yesterday afternoon." We asked if Mr. Mowry had been asked if he wished a lawyer. He said, "No, it is not customary except in grave cases." We said that we had had no opportunity to secure a lawyer for him since the trial had been brought off so suddenly. He said that we could have asked for a postponement of the trial. We replied that we were given no such information. We asked whether in Japanese law [there can be] a request for a new trial, and he said, "No, but if judgment is rendered an appeal can be taken and a lawyer secured." We replied that in case he were acquitted our having no opportunity to secure a lawyer would make no difference. But that if he were convicted it was a matter of great importance. We remarked that we had had no opportunity to confer with Mr. Mowry about a lawyer, or a request for postponement or anything in connection with the case, as in the interviews allowed we were strictly forbidden to say anything about his case. The Procurator remarked that they had pushed his case ahead out of consideration for him as they did not care to prolong his confinement. We then went to the telegraph office and wired a statement of the facts to the consul general.

The word translated "guessed" above is the Korean "chimjak" which may be translated "guessed, reckoned, supposed." It does not imply knowledge.

Samuel A. Moffett

Pyeng Yang, Korea

April 25, 1919

Samuel Austin Moffett

Dear Mr. Koons:

Pardon the smeared appearance but the ribbon was out of order and in fixing it this occurred.

The quotation we were talking about was in an article in a Chinese paper and is as follows:

"If Korea languished for many generations prior to the Japanese annexation, and was the scene of disastrous international intrigues, it was very largely because of the appalling ruin which the Hideyoshi expedition of three hundred years before brought to the country when every artisan and every piece of art was ruthlessly carried off, precisely as the Germans did in Belgium and Northern France. Japan owes a more debt which a century of generosity and charity would scarce repay."

If you want to see the whole article get a copy of the *Peking Leader* of April 13th. No special news I believe. Let me have a postal from you when you receive this.

Yours sincerely,

S. A. Moffett

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Syen Chyun, Korea

April 26, 1919

Norman C. Whittemore

My dear Moffett,

If you get advance information of the visit of the friend of whom [James] Gale told us, I would be glad if you would wire me, unless you have any reason to know that he is coming up here too. I would rather go to Pyeng Yang then run any risk of missing him.

The Kwak San church was burned yesterday morning, and the Christians prevented from going in to put it out. The atrocious tortures of the prisoners in Tyungju are worthy of African savages and barbarians.

Locally everything is fortunately very quiet and calm.

Yours hastily,

N.C. Whittemore

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Some Incidents in Connection with the Independence Movement
[hand-written notes by S.A. Moffett]

1. The Secretary of our Girls School was arrested on suspicion of having allowed the school mimeograph to be used in printing announcements. He was tied and beaten to force him to confess to lies about having given the mimeograph to some students and to having received money from Mr. Mowry for the Independence movement. He was kept for 7 days in a room of about 2 tsubo space (12 feet by 6 feet) with 60 people - where they had to stand up all that time not allowed to sit or lie down - eating and sleeping standing leaning up against each other. All the wants of nature were attended to by these 60 people in that little room. After 16 days confinement he was released as innocent.
2. One of the College students was arrested at his home and kept at police office for 20 days. When released I visited him and saw the deep red bruises on his shoulders and arms where the cords were pulled tight until the breast bone was so pressed forward as to almost stop all breathing. He lost consciousness under the beating on shoulders and arms with a bamboo stick wrapped in paper to prevent breaking the skin and bleeding, but so applied as to bruise deeply. Days after the beating these great bruises were most sensitive to the lightest touch of my fingers the boy wincing as I laid my finger on the spots. While tied up and suffering he saw a Chun Do Kyo man [syncretistic blend of Christianity and Korean cultural religions] beaten until he became unconscious, [then] 8 or 10 times being brought to consciousness between the beatings. He also saw a boy thrown down hard on the floor and stamped on repeatedly for half an hour until he became unconscious. He reported one boy as being almost dead from the same beatings given him and this has since been verified for he was the boy afterwards visited in hospital by Miss Doriss who examined him and saw the scars some five inches long where his flesh had been seared with a red hot iron. He had four of these. She saw the dead skin of the welts raised by blows on his hands which had swelled to twice their size. He told her of the way he was kicked and beaten until he fainted and then was given water to drink and water poured over his naked body until he came to when he was again plied with questions and beaten with a bamboo rod until he again collapsed.
3. On March 7th the demonstrations for Independence took place in the villages of Poo Paik and Saw Kam some 20 miles north of Pyongyang. It was participated in by practically the whole populace of these villages. The next day four soldiers and one Korean police came asking for the pastor of the Church there. Failing to find him they seized the school teacher, slashed him with swords twice on his head and thrust the sword twice into his legs. An Elder of the church stepped forth and protested against such treatment whereupon a Japanese soldier pierced him in the arm and the side with his sword. Both wounded men fell over unconscious. The Korean policeman seeing this became frightened and fled. The soldiers then searched the houses for the pastor but they too became alarmed and fled, upon which some of the young men picked up stones and threw at them. The soldiers turned and fired, shooting and wounding four men. These four went to the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital at Soon An but stayed only a few days,

after end of April, 1919 – p.2 S.A.M.

fleeing as soon as a little better, for fear of the soldiers who kept coming to hospital to arrest them as soon as able to leave. Two of the men were soon arrested by soldiers who found them at home and they are now in prison in Pyengyang.

4. Spring house cleaning under police direction in the village of Chang Chun. Word came to the villagers that the police from the station of the district would visit this village on Sunday, April 27 to inspect the house-cleaning. Advance word to the Christians was that they were to look out for a hard time. The people of the village carefully cleaned their houses - the mats in the church were all taken out, beaten and dusted - floor swept and washed and pulpit and platform dusted. The leader sent word to all to gather early for worship so as to finish before the police came but just as he was leaving home for the church he saw the police enter the village - one Japanese in charge - 2 Korean police, 2 secretaries and 2 dog killers. They went to the church and called up the two leaders of the church. All were on the platform. The Japanese stepped down ran his fingers over the floor and held them up saying - look at this dust and ordered the leaders to sit down on the floor. Then taking a heavy stick such as is used for a flail he began beating the old man over the shoulders. The old man in his indignation said - "What, you beat a 70-year-old man this way"? The fellow replied, "What is 70 years, you rascal of a Christian" - and beat him and the other man all the more. Then calling for the church roll they took down the names of the Christians of the village and went forth from house to house leaving the houses of non-Christians but without question or examination as to whether the house had been cleaned or not, proceeded to beat men, women and children without regard to age. In one house they made the women stand up and beat them - then told them to sit down and beat them - one elderly woman being sick ever since the beating.

That night, led by two liquor dealers (names given) who already disliked the Church, a number of half drunken men broke the doors and windows of the houses of the Christians and at daybreak of the 19th drove out the families from 8 houses - all Christians. They then forced the villagers to sign a report to the gendarmerie saying that the Christians had all been driven out and when this was presented they were commended by the gendarmes. Among those driven out were the families of the pastor, elder, deacon and school teacher, the women and children being forced out that night and morning. Before this, however, this same chief of gendarmes after the demonstrations at Saw Kam on the 7th March and the arrest of four Christian men, had on the 10th of March ordered the women and children of these homes out of the village and ordered the village elder (Tong Chang) to sell their household goods at half price and send them away at once. This was done and these 12 Christian families with most of their men in prison have been sent off from their homes to find refuge where they may.

The above is verified by the testimony of many independent witnesses and is apparently a true statement of facts.

[now in the files of the *Independence Movement*, part of the Moffett Korea Collection, archives, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Syen Chun, Korea

May 25, 1919

Harry A. Rhodes (?)

A letter from a missionary to his mother.

[Dear Mother],

My heart is heavy tonight for I have just come from the hospital where I sat by the bedside of a beautiful lad while the light of life went out in suffering. It was heartbreaking to see. He is another of the victims of the butchery going on here, and the second one to die in our hospital within three days among a group of eleven young men brought here from the prison in Sin Euiju. Several of them I knew in Kang Kei last fall when I was there teaching in the Bible Institute. They were arrested at the time of the demonstration for shouting "mansei" [Korea live forever] and for distributing announcements regarding the demonstrations for independence. They were kept in prison in Sin Euiju for some weeks and finally brought to "trial" - or what the Japanese military government calls a trial, - and were sentenced upon the above charges to 90 stripes. They demanded an appeal, but were roughly refused and forced to accept the sentence. On May 16 the first thirty of the 90 blows were inflicted, three Japanese taking turns inflicting ten blows each with all their might upon the naked forms prostrate and securely tied at neck, wrists, waist and ankles upon a wooden frame in the shape of a Roman cross. These blows were given in such a way as to violate the law which prohibits the drawing of the bludgeon further back than in front of and parallel with the shoulders of the striker. The boys showed me how the blows were given - the bludgeon drawn back as far as possible and the log raised so as to give the maximum of force to the blow. On May 17 thirty more blows were laid on the raw and bleeding wounds made the day before, and on May 18 the remaining thirty blows were inflicted in like manner. They had no medical attention and no medicine of any sort [for] their wounds while in prison, according to the testimony given by one of the boys and corroborated by the others as they lay in their beds in the ward today. On May 18 they came out and went to an inn waiting for their wounds to heal enough for them to travel. By May 22 six of them had developed gangrene, while five were recovering. Three who could walk by this time brought down the six who were in serious condition to our hospital on that day, and two more came later. The distance is two hours by rail.

Among them was the lad who had acted as my secretary while I was in Kang Kei last November and December. Of course I knew him very well, having worked with him every afternoon for a month dictating outlines which he wrote out and duplicated on the mimeograph for my classes. When I heard that a group of prisoners had come in I did not at first learn that they were boys I knew. Next day just as I was setting out for the hospital to teach my English class, Dr. McCune called across from his porch that one of the boys was my secretary, and that he could not live. The boy told them that he knew me and asked for me. Of course I started at once to see him but on my way I met Miss Helstrom who had just come from the hospital and she told me that my boy was already dead. I saw his still form when I reached the hospital - the same finely chiseled features but sharply drawn and thin, with the marks of pain deeply lined into his forehead. He had died from his wounds in intense agony - beaten to death like a dog for shouting for his country and taking part in a peaceful demonstration - absolutely nothing else was even falsely brought against him. Then I went to see the others. One who could walk met me in the hall and greeted me joyfully. He looked pale, weak and shaken, and it was no wonder after those

ninety blows, even tho he did escape the gangrenous poison which was threatening the lives of his mates. I went with him into the ward. Four boys lay there writhing and groaning, while a fifth, thought to be less likely to live, lay in another room by himself. They brightened up when he led to each in turn, and all declared they remembered having seen me when I was in Kang Kei last fall. I did not know their names, but I remembered two faces and thought I could recall the third. He was a brother-in-law of one of my students in the Bible Institute.

One lad with big dark eyes and a handsome head and face seemed especially glad to see me, and he was the one whose face I seemed to remember most clearly. I knew him also as the brother of another young man prominent in the church in Kang Kei, connected with the missionaries there. Again yesterday I visited them. This one who especially attracted me was suffering intensely, and the doctor told me he wasn't likely to live. I asked what the boys would like to eat which I could prepare, but only one had any desire for food. He was the one most likely to live and he asked for an apple. How glad I was to be able to get him one, tho it was not easily done this time of the year. I sent raspberry juice and jelly also, or rather took them this morning as I went to the hospital, to see them again. The boy who had been so glad to see me the day before and who had held out his hand to Mary Louise inquiring who she was and admiring her in spite of his evidently agonizing pain, had been taken to a private room so that he might not die in the presence of the others. I went there to see him and he knew me, but was too ill to give me his attention long. After the foreign service (about 6 p.m.) I went down again. The doctor said he could not last much after sundown. He knew me again, and I knelt down by his bedside to pray. I could only ask that God would make His presence very real in that hour, relieve his physical pain, and give him peace at heart. He knew he must die and said his faith still held. His pain was so great (peritonitis had developed to add its agonies to the already unbearable pain of the wounds) that he wanted to die quickly if he must go, and yet his young life was sweet and he clung to it. He told Dr. McCune in the afternoon that his regret was that he could not live to see his country free, but that he was glad to give his life for her. During the afternoon he tried to bite off the end of his little finger - the sign of those who have pledged their lives to the freeing of their country, signing the pledge with the blood that flows from the wound.

As I was praying he reached down and grasped my wrist with a surprising firmness and as I rose he begged me to lift him up, but the hospital attendants told him to be quiet. His pain was so great that he constantly sought relief by change of position. I went back to the compound for supper, returning with Miss Ingerson, the nurse, at about seven thirty. Just as we turned into the hospital gate his brother, just arriving from Kang Kei by bicycle and train all the way, rushed past us saying as he ran, "Is he dead?" Assured that he still lived, he ran to the room where the sick boy lay. The meeting was a cry, the dying boy rousing himself and turning to his brother with upraised arms. Hearing his sobs he said, "Don't cry. I will not die but live. Let's have a talk tonight." It seemed almost that his words might be true, but the doctor knew there was no chance, so they sent the crowd that had gathered out of the room, leaving him in charge of Miss Ingerson, while the brother received his last messages. I went to see the others in the adjoining room. After a little the brother went out for a few minutes and Miss Ingerson and I watched by the dying boy. His life ebbed fast. He reached out to grasp our hands and begged to be turned. The brother came back and took his place by the bedside with a fan. The Chosa [lay leader] from

his church, one of the eleven himself, suffering severely from the unhealed wounds, came in with him and stood at the foot of the cot, and one of my women students who came down from Kang Kei with me at Christmas, a relative of the patient - came in with the matron. As the brother dropped the fan in his grief, the dying boy called for it - his last articulate word. I took it up and fanned him until the last breath was gone, holding the wrist which was now pulseless and growing cold. The Chosa prayed, and as he did so the boy's eyes were suddenly alight with clear understanding and he tried so hard to say something. He could not utter a word but at last he got strength to lift his hand to his mouth. He bit at his little finger. He wanted to pledge his life in blood to the country he loved so well. Poor boy! He had already given his blood - the bed was soaked with it from the seeping wounds on his back and hips where the cruel blows of the bamboo rod had beaten the flesh to a mangled pulp.

As the Chosa finished his prayer, the eyes gleamed again. The Chosa called the boy's name loudly and asked, "Have you faith?" The head nodded. Then the brother called, "Do you know God?" Again he nodded - the last sign he gave on earth.

Those two are gone - one more may go tomorrow. I have seen them in their terrible agony, worse than any death sentence ever inflicted in a civilized country, and yet Japan dares declare her laws are the same as those of civilized countries. And we are subject to them by the consent of our own United States.

Again I think of these scores - nearly a hundred and fifty, besides those killed outright - who have died from their wounds with no medical care, hiding miserably from the terror that still threatened them in our neighboring town of Tung Ju, where occurred the massacre of the unarmed crowd which broke into shouts on a market day. And I remember the hundreds more throughout the country - thousands is more likely - for nearly every person I meet can tell of scores of relatives and friends who have been beaten up, and this is true all over the country for no declared cause, as well as those beaten in prison after "trial". I am beginning to realize what all this means, yet it is too horrible to realize. I shall send photos of those boys to prove what I am telling you, and a statement I shall draw up giving the testimony as they have given it to me in detail.

Can you believe that such horror continues under the flag of an "ally", who pretends to be shocked at the atrocities committed by Germany? Every word is true. I have now seen enough to know that I really know very little of all the awful suffering that is going on. Nobody on this earth will ever know the whole story, but the God who heard the blood of Abel crying to Him from the ground, will avenge the blood unjustly spilled even in this dark day.

Later:-

The two boys were buried on Monday. Under the bright noon sun the sad company gathered, following the carriers borne by Christian men of Syen Chun, out to the elevation just beyond our compound where the procession halted while the funeral service was held. Kim Moksá [pastor Kim] of our South Church, himself having spent twenty days in prison, conducted

5/25/1919 - p.4 H.A.R. (?)

the service. The Chosa from Kang Kei, persistently keeping up in spite of his wounds, gave the life histories of the lads he knew so well as their spiritual leader, and the pastor who recently came to Syen Chun from a five years pastorate in Kang Kei, preached the sermon. He resigned on account of ill health and has been suffering from hemorrhages of the lungs. His eyes filled with tears and his voice broke as he expressed his grief at seeing these young lives go out before his own. One of the Syen Chun deacons prayed and his voice vibrated with grief and faltered as he cried: "Oh Lord, why hast Thou forsaken us? Look with pity upon Thy people and save us from the hands of our enemies!" A quiet, deep sob swept over the crowd - not the cry of "Aigo, aigo", so characteristic of heathen Korean funerals, but a sob too deep for loud expression. The group of foreigners gathered there with them could not refrain from weeping with them as they took up the strains of our sweet hymn of Christian hope, "In the sweet by and by". Again the procession moved down over the valley growing green in the spring sunshine, and climbed the steep hillside which has one of the beautiful views of the fertile valley and blue mountain which the Koreans love so well. There, facing the eastern hills, they laid them side by side.

A Korean woman, daring the consequences, tho she must have known that spies would be present, drew forth a little paper Korean flag and placed it upon the coffin of the boy whose dying message had been a pledge to his country and an acknowledgment of his God.

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

EXTRACT FROM JAPANESE NEWSPAPER, SHOSEN SHINMUN
(enclosed in a letter to the New York Mission Board offices)

The stirring up of the minds of the Koreans is the sin of the American missionaries. This uprising is their work. In investigating the causes of the uprising two or three missionaries have been arrested and have been examined. There are a good many shallow minded people among the missionaries and they make the minds of the Koreans bad and they plant the seeds of democracy. So the greater part of the 300,000 Korean Christians do not like the union of Japan and Korea, but they are waiting for an opportunity for freedom.

These missionaries look upon the present Korean as they did upon the old Korean, and they consider it proper for the Koreans to say anything they want if only they enter the Christian schools. They take the statement of [President] Wilson about the "Self-determination of nations" and hide behind their religion and stir up the people.

The missionaries have tried to apply the free customs of other nations to these Korean people, who are not wholly civilized. From the part that even girl students in Christian schools have taken, it is evident that this uprising has come from the missionaries.

Behind this uprising, we see the ghost-like appearance of waving his wand. This ghost is really hateful, malicious, fierce. Who is this ghost wearing the dark clothes? - the missionaries and the head of the Chuntokyo [a syncretistic Korean religion]. These missionaries who have come out of the American nation. They have sold themselves for the petty salary of some 300 yen (\$150) per year, and they have crept out like reptiles on their belly as far as Korea. There is nothing of good that can be said of their knowledge, character and disposition.

These messengers of God are only after money and are sitting around their homes with a full stomach. The bad things of the world all start from such trash as these. They planned this dirty work and got into league with the Chuntokyo. If we take all this into consideration these missionaries are all hated brutes.

Why no public apology in the press? No wonder John Thomas [missionary of the *Oriental Missionary Society*] was so brutally attacked. They would not believe him brutal.

If you should print anything we send please do not put our names in.

Pyongyang, Korea

June 6, 1919

Sallie Willison Fisher Swallen

Honorable William A. Ashbrook
Johnstown, Ohio, U.S.A.

Dear Brother Will:

I only have time for a short letter but I want to keep you informed about Mr. Mowry. As you know he is out on bail. He appealed to a higher court, was sentenced [to] 4 months with hard labor with a two years' suspended sentence. He immediately appealed to the Supreme Court. That trial is set for June 12th. Will let you know as soon as it is over.

Mr. Mowry is now in Japan. I only wish you could be here for a while and see things for yourself. Two Japanese and a missionary came from Japan to investigate conditions and they were dumb founded. One of them said he hadn't cried since he was a little boy but the testimony from an earnest Christian woman caused him to weep. If you would go — — hospital at this moment you would find an old man over sixty years old who was beaten until he has a big sore on his buttocks as big as your hand - an open sore.

Two young men died in the Syen Chun hospital the result of being beaten. There are men sentenced for from six months to two years to prison with hard labor who really did nothing. One man they said was sentenced because he was a man of influence.

I am sending you this petition of these two Viscounts. One is an old man of 80 years. The other is — an old man — — — — but they took his son instead.

Last Saturday there was another demonstration in Seoul and one night thousands of prisoners hollered "Mansei" (hurrah for Korea) in the prison.

We are well but - oh, so busy. Will & I go to the country each Sunday & visit the churches. The girls sail from Moji July 28th. I have written to Olivette.

Very Sincerely, your sister

Sallie

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Pyongyang, Korea

July 8, 1919

Lucia Fish Moffett

Dear Girls, - [Mary and Agnes Fortin, her dear friends at 594 Nineteenth St. in Oakland, CA.]

Here are some pictures for a kŭgyŭng (sightsee). Will you send one on to Miss Aga Sander [or Lander], Martinez, and one to Mrs. Belle Danforth, Hotel Cartwright, S[an] F[rancisco]. Perhaps you won't thank me for asking you to take the trouble - but even 40 [pictures] wouldn't do justice to half their most charming expressions. [probably referring to pictures and "charming expressions" of her two little sons, Sammie and Howard]

We are wagging along pretty quietly now, apparently. You know the Munros, don't you? Jessie Munro Reiner's four children have been getting samples of all sorts of diseases this summer. Even whooping cough couldn't run nicely through the family but hit just one - another had measles, another mumps and now Ruth has acquired malaria.

Hurrah! The Hills are coming into the Mission (he was sent out mainly for the Pierson Memorial) and are to be located here in Pyeng Yang. Mrs. Ross is with them now.

I was up picking currants at 5:30 this morning to boil them a little & get them in the jelly bag before the woman came to iron. Am going to dry string beans today, too. During Annual Meeting it is impossible to attend to any then - - language & executive people stay pretty long. Mr. McFarland had a three weeks' bill to pay - but most of them were here fourteen days - 12 beds - I did heave a sigh of relief when the last sheet was counted out the second Saturday - but it is fun after all and we are sorry it meets in Seoul next year. We have had it three years in succession.

Are you down in beautiful Mt. Hermon? And how does the world go now the war [World War 1] is over in your part of the earth? How about the F[irst] P[resbyterian] C[hurch]? and Bertha and Esther and Florence?

If you write to Mrs. D[anforth], please tell her Howard loved her last letter to distraction & I am not sure of her address. I think that is the name of the hotel.

[unsigned, but other letters to them signed]
Lovingly,

Lucia

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

July 30, 1919

Mrs. J.W. Rehrer

Dear Dr. Brown [Arthur Judson Brown],

I received your kind letter. I surely do have to think so much concerning our daughter, Jennie Rehrer [Jane "Jennie" Rehrer served in Kangkei from 1917 -1928 as a nurse].

I received a letter from her telling how she waited on eleven young men who had been tied to a cross and received 90 blows. When she wrote two of them had died, one more would soon die. One of them had been her secretary last fall at the Bible Conference.

Her Korean companion had been captured, stabbed in the back with a bayonet, thrown in prison for 10 days. She recovered and is back again with Jennie.

She also told of the burning of the Church, she said 36 were in it. The paper I read stated 30.

While the doctor Briger [Bigger] and her [sic] were dressing a wounded man, an officer entered the hospital, took a Korean man that was giving the ether [sic], and shot him. He died instantly.

She related much more. I do hope and trust the trouble will soon be conquered.

Respectfully,

Mrs. J.W. Rehrer

(from the microfilm records of the Board of Foreign Missions, P.C.U.S.A., Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Series II, Reel #6, Record Group 140-4-27)

Pyongyang, Korea

October, 1919

Alice M. Butts
Pyongyang Station Secretary

Pyongyang Station Report at the Mission's Annual Meeting:

Rev. S.A. Moffett, D.D.: - Permission to act as President of the Theological Seminary. Permission to act as President of the Union Christian College. Co-pastorate in 5th Church, Pyongyang. Associated with Dr. W.N. Blair in East Pyongyang circuit. Superintendent of Country Primary schools. Charge of Anju circuit during Dr. Blair's absence. Furlough after April 1, 1920.

Mrs. Moffett:- Language study. Charge of Woman's Work in East Pyongyang circuit. S.S. work in 4th Church. City Training classes. Bible Woman. Furlough after April 1, 1920.

Rev. W.M. Baird, Ph.D., D.D.: - Literary and Translation work, Associate Professor Theological Seminary, and in Union Christian College. Teaching in Bible Institute and Training Classes. Permission to work in South Gate Church.

Mrs. Baird:- Language study. Work in South Gate Church. Teaching in Woman's Academy. Other work under direction of Station.

Rev. W.L. Swallen, D.D. Charge of Western circuit. Associate Professor in Theological Seminary. Teaching in Bible Institute and Training classes. Charge of 3rd Church until Dr. Blair's return. Associated with 14 pastors, 12 helpers, and 1 colporteur. Literary work. Charge of Correspondence Course. Furlough after July 1st, 1920.

Mrs. Swallen:- Supt. of Woman's work in South Gate Church. Charge of Woman's work in Western circuit. Teaching in Bible Institute and Training classes. Sunday School teacher's class. South Gate Church. Bible Woman. Visiting in homes. Furlough after July 1st, 1920.

Miss Margaret Best:- Charge of Woman's Bible Institute. Country classes in Anju and South Pyongyang territories, S.S. work, Central Church. Charge of S.S. Teachers' Class 4 months. Charge of Women's work in Anju circuit until Mrs. Blair's return. Bible Woman. Furlough to attend Post Conference after April 1st, 1920.

Rev. A.G. Welbon:- On special leave of absence.

Mrs. Welbon:- On special leave of absence.

Rev. C.F. Bernheisel:- Dean of Union Christian College. Co-pastorate in 4th Church. Charge of West Whangju circuit. Associated with 4 pastors, 2 helpers and 1 colporteur. Bible classes. Literary work. Oversight of Language study.

Mrs. Bernheisel:- Sup't. of Women's Work in 4th Church. Charge of Woman's Work in Whangju Circuits associated with Mrs. Reiner in supervision of kindergartens. Teaching in Bible Institute and Training classes. Charge of Primary S.S. class four months. Bible Woman. Visiting in homes.

Miss Velma L. Snook:- Principal of Pyengyang Academy for Women. S.S. work in 5th Church.

Rev. W.N. Blair, D.D.:- On furlough till September 1st, 1919. After return charge of Anju Circuit. Associate charge with Dr. Moffett of E. Pyengyang circuit. Charge of 3rd church. Associated with 7 pastors, 13 helpers and 2 colporteurs. Charge of Bible Institute Teaching in Training Classes.

Mrs. Blair:- On furlough till September 1st, 1919. Charge of Women's work in Anju Circuit and in 3rd Church. Teaching in Bible Institute and Training classes. Charge of S.S. Teachers Class four months.

Miss Alice M. Butts:- Teaching in Bible Institute and Teacher Training classes. Charge of Sunday School teachers' and workers' classes of the Bible Institute. Country classes in Kangdong and E. Pyengyang circuits. Work in Central Church Sunday School. Charge of Primary S.S. Teachers' class 4 months.

On ferry

October 18, 1919

William D. Reynolds, Jr.

Dear Dr. Moffett,

We are nearing Fusan after a quiet delightful voyage across the Straits, quite a contrast to our voyage across the Pacific.

I heard from Chunju that you were expecting me at the Seminary October 13. I had planned to spend this fall and winter in Chunju looking after my churches. Can't you arrange the work so that I need not go up till spring? How many students have you enrolled? Who is teaching in my place? How much cholera in Pyeng Yang?

If I go up where can I board? My wife will not accompany me this time.

Greetings to all -

Cordially yours,

W.D. Reynolds

(postcard from Dr. Reynolds in the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Seoul, Korea

November 5, 1919

Lucia F. Moffett

Dear Girls - [Mary and Agnes Fortin]

The hat came in perfect condition and it is hard to think that any other could possibly have pleased us so well. It is pretty, becoming, comfortable and just the thing to wear with my coat. It came in time to wear to the governor's annual reception in honor of the imperial birthday and in time for this trip to Seoul. I am sending Margaret a post card but am not sure of her address. Please thank her for me and - my dears - my patient dears who did all the trying on and ransacking of memories - but it's no use, words are inadequate. I wish you could see the beautiful combination of that hat and Lucia. It belongs here at the Chosen Hotel where Sammie and I have landed.

We came to get my teeth fixed and a eustachian tube blown out, expecting to stay at the Rhodes' but our telegram miscarried and they not only had Mrs. McCune and her two daughters already but were not at home. It was after dark but we got over here and had Samlet in bed by nine o'clock.

Severance Hospital is a sight. There are not only beds in the office, but in the vestibule, the halls, anywhere one can be tucked, and every house on the compound has guests; people attending language school, on the way to America, having dental or other special work done, or not sick enough for the hospital, not well enough to go home.

I am sorry the Sharrocks' boat has put off its sailing date so many times but was glad to see them again. The doctor is very very thin but they are all brave and are giving a good atmosphere for recovery. Theo [their daughter] is a fine girl. It is too bad they must hurry on to Rochester without a visit with Mrs. Ames [Mrs. Sharrocks' mother].

There has been somewhat of a political demonstration this past week and I am not sure whether the schools will close or not. We are very anxious to keep the Theological Seminary in session for pastors are urgently needed. Miss Snook's school [Soong Eui] has closed for a week, partly to make the winter supply of turnip pickle [kimche], partly to give them time to move over into the Bible Institute building until the heating plant can be fixed. I am teaching them 2nd year English this year and love them to death. It gives me eerie recollections of O.H.S. [Oakland High School], though, when I walk through the halls and every student stops to make a profound bow. Nor can we begin work in class until the ceremony of greeting is over. The other day we had heard rumors there was to be some sort of a demonstration but Mrs. Holdcroft and I were talking of it and concluded it couldn't be so, for the girls find it proverbially hard to keep secrets and they manifested no sign of excitement or concern. Within twenty-four hours twelve had been arrested. Though the gates were locked they had gotten out and marched shouting with a Korean flag. It seems as if teachers could prevent such things but neither the Japanese government schools, nor ours, have been able to do it.

Have you remembered that manicure set for his reverence? If not, there is still plenty of time before his birthday, January 25 - if you still have time and energy to devote to the pursuit.

11/05/1919 - p.2 L.F.M.

You certainly are A. No. 1 shoppers. Remember, I owe you an ice cream on that hat.

We enjoyed your story of Edward Victor - and everything Sammy has said lately pales beside it. His attention just now is largely concentrated on driving off bad bears and lions, while making afternoon pie or chocolate pudding for the good ones. And - when the shades are drawn and the big boys set to work to entertain the small ones - oh, girls - were we ever young enough to love such a noise? Agnes was, of course, you can see it in her passion filled eyes and in her sailor middy and, ahem, dual petticoats. Edith, too, methinks, doth not look quite so demure as I remember her, but you and I, Mary? Hymns were the only real noisy exercise we took, weren't they?

Tell me, am I right in sniffing romance in a certain young lady's case? It did me good to get the photos, anyway. I think we shall have something else to send soon. Miss Gittens is lending us her kodak.

Good night, with lots and lots of love to you all and thanks,

Lucia

P.S. I will write Mr. and Mrs. Helinka soon. Miss Doriss is hoping the money on my hat is not in place of handkerchiefs or remnants for the poor. The Woman's Relief Society is sewing up everything they can lay hands on. Mrs. Bernheisel has sent a notice around, too, asking us to send over any old cardboard or scraps of colored worsted for the kindergarten. She uses both for their sewing cards. This is just in case you or any of your friends have bits you really don't want. I don't believe you will, but probably you have post cards. We are all out again.

With love and then more love,

Yours,

Lucia

Old Sammie is such a comfort to me. It still surprises me to find how much more fun it is to have him with me down here, though it cuts out certain things, than to be alone in the old way. It was like pulling teeth to leave Howard, but he is just beginning to care, in fact was so busy getting to the bottom of a bowl of milk, he didn't know we came.

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Seoul, Chosen

November 7, 1919

Lucia F. Moffett

Miss Hester Fish, Carpinteria, California, U.S.A.

Dear Hester,

The answer to my letter came sometime ago in the shape of students' aid but I thought perhaps there would be a message, too, so have not acknowledged its receipt. I hope the delay has not made you fear it was lost. Sam was so glad to get it for it makes the teaching force just so much stronger. This year for the first time I am having a class over at the Girls' Academy [Soong Eui] and do enjoy it immensely. The girls are eager to learn but it makes me smile to walk through the halls where students all stop and bow low to salute a teacher, and remember how we used to saunter past our elders in the O.H.S. [Oakland High School?]. In the classrooms, too, greetings are not the inconsequential things I remember of yore. The first day, in my hurry to get a few points on the blackboard to begin with, the bell rang unheeded and soon a smiling, but pleading face peered around - "O honored, high born one (the word - the honorific at least - for teacher is sunsaing 'high born') won't you please say 'be in peace' to us so we can sit down?" So I bowed and said "Pe ang hasio" and we all smiled.

Now they are having a week's vacation, partly to make the winter supply of turnip pickle, a necessary part of their diet, for nothing but millet, millet, millet would be deadly. Bread is a luxury for special occasions only, like macaroni or meat, but pickle appears every day and the time of its preparation is as surely a part of the school course as circus day is in our country towns at home. Well partly for kimtche, then, and partly because the girls must move over into the Bible Institute until the heating plant can be repaired - they are having vacation.

There was another demonstration last week, and some arrests. The new government has forbidden the use of violence in making arrests on the street so our feelings were not harrowed as before. If Japan were only a Christian nation! But then, where is a nation truly Christian and how dreadfully far short of the light given us most of us do fall! I wonder that there haven't been more floods and more fresh starts with one or two faithful Noahs.

Sammie and I are down in Seoul on account of my teeth again. This time one more wisdom tooth really must go, apparently. Sammie came to keep me from being lonesome and Howard stays at home to help papa. S[ammie] is doing his part nobly. He is so happy and interested in everything and by himself is a good boy, even to chewing with his mouth shut. But I simply didn't dare leave him at home with Howard. Together they almost kill each other a million times a day. When there is a nice soft target around, why throw a stone at uninteresting space!

You should see Severance. It seems to be growing constantly more crowded. There are beds in the halls, beds in the office, beds even in the vestibule of a door they found not absolutely necessary.

Now, ladies all and gentlemen, I would ask you to send used souvenir post cards that you

11/07-1919 - p.2 L.F.M.

don't care to keep - for use in the Sunday schools and country churches, but me thinks you might call that an answer and not write. Write and tell us what your portion of the family is doing. There are so many new members, we don't feel at all acquainted any more. Dr. Hirst was speaking today of meeting Uncle Henry years ago and going with him to the Con[solidated] Virginia office.

Good bye with lots of love to all of you from

Lucia

P.S. I didn't hear Sam say just how the money was to be used but I think practically for the same ones as before. Hong Changno's [Elder Hong's] daughter made a crocheted top for a corset cover for you. I was sorry it was not something oriental but she thought a foreigner would like something foreign. You may be interested to know, too, her father is interested in walnuts - at any rate is acting as middle man and selling some.

Adios - can you hear the waves? I should like to tonight. [Hester and Julia Fish, Lucia's first cousins, lived on the beach of the Pacific Ocean at Carpinteria, California]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Pyongyang, Korea

November 26, 1919

Lucia Fish Moffett

Dear Girls, - [The Fortin sisters of Oakland]

Here is only a Christmas card and one for Edith. Sam is going home in April and will take something to you for me then, though not what I should like to send, I am afraid.

Mrs. & Miss Smilie spent a day here not long ago and we did have a beautiful time talking up Oakland. But it was chance that we met in Seoul at the [Chosen] hotel - chance & her memory for faces. I think you church people ought to direct church members visiting the Orient to some missionary. Then we pass them on from station to station and you might find them more interested in missions on their return. Mrs. Smilie wants to put some money into the work in memory of the son and daughter she lost. Perhaps it wasn't a chance we met, after all. She seemed very much impressed by the Korean people.

It is time to get ready for Thanksgiving dinner - our contribution is four pounds of meat mixed with beans in a meat loaf, sandwiches for ourselves and two newspaper men from Shanghai who are our guests, and forty red apples from our own trees.

This noon Sammie and Howard dined out with all between 2 and 8. They were taxed a freezer of ice cream and - temporarily 2 highchairs. Such is community life.

Merry merry Christmas to you. Sorry there isn't a committee to tell me what to send you. Once a missionary you get used to being guided in all your days by a com[mittee].

Lovingly,

Lucia

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

British & Foreign Bible Society,
Korea Agency
Seoul

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS
"TESTAMENTS - SEOUL"
CODE: C.I.M.

Mr. HUGH MILLER,
AGENT.

Seoul, Korea

December 4, 1919

Hugh Miller

My dear Dr. Moffett:-

Mr. [Thomas] Hobbs [Secretary, British & Foreign Bible Society, 1910-1941] forgot his sweater and wants it and I know you will be willing to take it up for him. If I sent it by mail there is no telling when he would get it. Some books will be sent out to where he is working by Elder Chung if he has left the city, and the sweater can go along.

The Police Department has notified me today that it will not grant permission for the *Christian Messenger* to insert general news in its columns. The reason being given that we must not mix up religion with secular news. I have asked for an interview again and have also said that if refused permission we will take the matter to the Governor-General. This is the promised freedom of the press!

I heard from Mr. Genso of the decision in regard to Mr. Mowry. I hope Mr. Mowry will decide to go to prison. It would be a great advertisement for the cause.

With kindest regards, as ever,

Hugh Miller

MEMORANDUM

The Rev. S. A. Moffett, D.D., of Pyenyang, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, a missionary in Korea since 1889 [appointed in 1889, arrived in country in 1890], having read the communications from Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, dated November 20 and 21, 1919, today dictated the following in answer to some of the points raised:

Re occurrences at Maingsan: I have it from five independent sources that there were 52, 53 or 54 persons killed here, all members of the Chundokyo cult. They were shot down in cold blood in the gendarmerie by soldiers brought in from Tokchun. The reports are as follows:

1. Two demonstrators were arrested by the gendarmes and taken to the gendarmerie. Then the whole crowd of Chundokyo demonstrators, some fifty odd, came to the gendarmerie and demanded the same treatment as their two comrades. They were absolutely unarmed, and they attempted no violence. They were all taken into the gendarmerie, and the chief of the gendarmes, and the soldiers who had been brought in from Tokchun, either nine or eleven in number, fired on this defenseless crowd and killed them. Their bodies were ordered to be carried out to the cemetery, and that night a woman, hunting for the body of her husband, heard the moans of one, and gave him water; she carried him off and he recovered. According to this report, the number killed would be 52. The chief of the gendarmes himself, in firing on these people, inadvertently got between them and the soldiers, and was shot in the back and dropped dead. Including him, the number of killed was reported as 54.

Sources of information:

1. A Biblewoman, who saw some of the dead, who was in the neighborhood at the time, and heard the story from eyewitnesses. We reserved judgment as to the truthfulness of her story, thinking it to be too horrible to be absolutely true, even though we had no reason to discredit the Biblewoman.

2-3. Later, two men, coming out of prison at different times, and without collusion, reported the stories of two eyewitnesses who were with these men in prison, but in different cells, these two eyewitnesses without collusion telling practically the same story to these two men, who independently and at different times, and without collusion, reported it to me.

4. I visited a church thirty miles in the country nearer Maingsan than Pyenyang. There I heard from another party the account of an eyewitness who had visited a cousin in this place, and he independently told practically the same story.

5. A policeman, who was one of the police in Maingsan, was so disgusted with the whole proceeding, after trying to resign without success, feigned sickness and insisted on resignation. His report to me through a reliable reporter confirms the other reports, minor differences of detail only being noticed.

From three other sources, more indirect, I have the same reports, so that from eight independent sources, without collusion or collaboration, and each without the knowledge of the other, the facts have been verified.

Re authenticated cases of rape: One authenticated case by a Japanese policeman on a woman in gaol, at night, in Whangju.

Another case of attempted rape, which failed, in a village in Kangdong.

Places where churches were used as assembly rooms: One at a Methodist Church in Pyengyang; one in Choongwha.

Deliberate persecution of Christians by local police: In at least three villages – two in Tatong County, and one in Kandong county – the people were called together, the non-Christians allowed to go and the Christians beaten, questions being asked as to who were Christians.

Were non-Christians who shouted arrested too? Yes, in many cases.

Were they less brutally treated than Christians? They were less brutally treated, that is the testimony I have from scores of sources.

Were they more readily released than non-Christians? Yes, in many cases.

Were they not subjected to equally severe flogging? Sometimes.

Is it untrue that the simple fact that a man was a Christian was sufficient to lead the police to want to arrest and investigate him? No, it is not untrue, because the question was almost invariably asked. Even men on the roads were asked if they were Christians, and if they replied in the affirmative they were mistreated or arrested, while if they replied they were not Christians in many cases nothing was done to them.

How many girls and women were stripped of their clothing during examination? I have direct testimony from seven Christian women, from four different places, that they were stripped and beaten, with such detailed accounts as to make it impossible not to believe the stories. I have heard indirectly of many others being similarly treated. I personally heard from women of three other villages that they were beaten, though not stripped. By indirect testimony, reports have come to me of similar treatment dealt out to women in other villages.

The above facts relate to the territory of which Pyengyang is the centre.

[this document may be found among the papers related to the *Independence Movement* in the Moffett Korea collection, archives, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

Weihhsien, Shantung, China

December 25, 1919

Robert M. Mateer

Dear Mr. Blair:-

Enclosed please find a copy of the paper I read some years ago at the Mott Conference. I send it through Mr. Scott because I am a little afraid of the mails. Dr. Hayes says he is going to take it along to New York.

I found upon my return that our theological school had broken with the University and that Dr. Hayes is here at Weihhsien teaching the Presbyterian students. We Presbyterians have already organized a theological seminary of our own under the care of our Shantung Presbytery. They are taking it out of the hands of the Mission. If you care to know the details write me and I shall send you.

The graduates of the University have about petered out for country pastorates, and it is the same with the other universities in China, so that it is about time to push for a district college such as you have in Pyeng Yang and such as is mentioned in the enclosed paper.

I hope the Orient can unite on the district college at the New York conference and I hope you folks will hold on to yours adding to it the compromise of allowing the University also.

With warm regards in which Mrs. Mateer joins.

Yours cordially,

Robert M. Mateer

[to read enclosed Mateer paper on proposed China educational policy, see S.A. Moffett papers file for 1919, archives, Princeton Theological Seminary]

(from the Samuel Hugh Moffett collection of Samuel Austin Moffett papers)

**which have arisen in the Chosen [Korea] Mission
of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.****Because of a Lack of Definition between the Foreign Board and itself concerning
their mutual responsibilities in the administration of FIELD WORK**

Printed for private use, and not for Publication: 1919 [?]

The Korea Mission was established in 1884. It is now the largest of the twenty-seven missions under our Foreign Board. It has a total membership (men and women) of 144. Of these, 86 are active voting members (men and single women), and 42 are ordained ministers.

The field has been a very open one and the work blessed with the outpouring of the Spirit. This has made possible concentration on direct evangelism, and the use of methods ideal to all missionaries but often made impossible because of greater difficulties. According to the latest Board statistics covering its entire twenty-seven missions, there are in the Korea Mission 26% of all the communicants received on profession of faith during the previous year, 30% of the total communicant membership, 38% of the average attendance, 37% of Sunday School attendance; while there are 88% of the self-supporting churches. The largest Presbyterian Theological Seminary in the world also is in that country. This work is done by something over 10% of the missionaries and 7% of the appropriations. These statistics are given to show that the question of field administration herein brought before the Church is not a small one but involves a marked proportion of the Church's interests in foreign mission work.

The question has been under discussion for seven years, petitions have been made without effect. Recurring cases have made necessary this presentation.

The six evangelical missions in Korea organized an Educational Federation with a constitution ratified by Missions and Boards. A co-operating Finance Committee of Board representatives was organized at home. This Committee, assuming functions constitutionally placed in the field body, took the initiative of organizing a single college for the entire country, at a different location and upon vitally differing principles, from the already organized and operating union college. The matter was brought to a vote of the entire missionary body. Only 30% favored the new proposition. Three Presbyterian Missions carrying from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the work in the country, were almost unanimously opposed. Regardless of this the college was directly ordered established. In consequence the field Federation dissolved itself. None of the three missions have gone into the institution.

Our own Board was one of the most prominent in this action. Our Mission carried over one-half of all the work in the country. It made an 86% vote against the proposition. It protested, petitioned, and explained. The Board finally authorized "such members of the Mission as were willing to do so" to represent it in establishing the College, and it has since been operated outside and independent of the Mission.

The Japanese Administration issued an Ordinance requiring that all religious instruction and exercises be eliminated from the curriculum of all Mission schools. Those holding a government charter were given ten years in which to conform. New schools must conform at once. The three Presbyterian Missions availed themselves of the ten years, closed all new schools, and started plans for saving the future of Christian education for the Korean Church. Our own Mission made its policy plain in the matter. Our Board decided to take out a charter for the new college under the new Ordinance, secularizing all departments except the theological, and thus, of course unintentionally, gave a ruinous blow to mission efforts.

The Mission had all along been urging the point of the Mission's place in field administration. It was told that the General Assembly's constituting action caused all field authority to inhere in the Board,

Introduction to "Presentation of Difficulties" - p.2 J.E.A. & S.A.M.
and the Board did not have power to change this. The discussion was long continued. The Mission finally petitioned the Board to ask for a Commission to go into the matter and provide regulations defining the relations in field administration. This was refused. At the next meeting of General Assembly (1919) the Board presented for Assembly ratification a proposition for a merger Board of all Presbyterian and Reformed churches in which was embodied "on the field abroad all problems of missionary administration should be determined by the new Board." The Assembly adopted it with the provision that "in the consummation of this plan ample conference shall be held with the missionary force of our church."

The reader should give particular attention to the "Brief" prepared at the suggestion of Board representatives, and the Board "Memorandum" prepared for presentation to the General Assembly in 1918. With regard to the position of the Mission it should be said that it has never desired to alter the organic law of the church; it fully recognized that all authority - initial, appellate and final, inheres in the General Assembly, and that the Board is the Assembly's head agent in the work, carrying head responsibility for it. The Mission has never desired autonomy or independence from the Board in field matters. Many powers in field matters should inhere in the Board, and full powers of restraint should also be there. But the missionaries cannot accept the position that "every missionary is on the field * * solely because of appointment by the Board," or that "present world conditions imperatively demand a larger and more effective unification of all missionary activities." Their position is not to be paralleled with that of government employees abroad. They are presbyters of the church, called of God to this work, with the Master's promised presence in their midst, and as such they have some rights, inherent in themselves, in the work which they have built up and to which they have given their lives. Not only does justice and propriety speak in the matter, but rapid growth and increasing complexity of field problems make it necessary to efficiency and progress. It is a definition of these functions of the Mission which is requested and which has become necessary to the work.

(from bound copy entitled PRESENTATION OF DIFFICULTIES which have arisen in the CHOSEN [KOREA] MISSION of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN U.S.A. because of a Lack of Definition between the Foreign Board and itself concerning their mutual responsibilities in the administration of FIELD WORK, S.A. Moffett and J.E. Adams, editors, pp. [Intro. p.1,2]

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To The EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

Seoul, Korea [?]

Date uncertain

Fathers and Brethren: –

We the undersigned voting members of the Chosen Mission desire to present to you a grave situation which has arisen in this field, a situation which imperils the splendid work which has grown up in it during the past thirty-five years.

Reduced to its simplest terms the cause of the difficulty lies in a difference of principles held by the Board of Foreign Missions in New York and the large majority of missionaries here on the field regarding the proper use of authority in matters relating to field administration.

On the one hand, the Mission while recognizing that the ultimate authority must rest in the General Assembly or in the body to which it may delegate its powers, yet believes that following the principles of Presbyterian polity this authority should largely be exercised along the line of review and control, a principle which holds in all departments of Presbyterian mission work except that between the Mission and the Board. We believe that in framing policies on the field, and in all other matters that are primarily field matters, the very largest degree possible of self-government should be allowed to the missionaries through the regularly constituted mission body. The General Assembly has recognized this principle and has directed that it should be followed out in its missionary work, as appears in its action of 1917:

"The Assembly notes, with special interest, the Board's policy of securing more efficient local administration in the various mission fields, including the largest amount of democratic self-government in the missions, and recommends that whenever conditions permit, or render it advantageous, in the judgment of the Board, further steps be taken in the same direction, especially in the case of the larger missions."

(General Assembly Minutes, 1917, page 219)

On the other hand, the Board of Foreign Missions, or its secretaries acting for it, has, in its relations with the Chosen Mission, tended more and more to set aside this principle and has increasingly sought to substitute for it the opposite one, viz., the principle of centralization of authority. It has gathered into its own hands and exercised directly those powers which should have been exercised through the Mission.

The conflict of these two principles, that of local self-government and that of the centralization of authority in the hands of the Board in New York has resulted in an intolerable situation. There is manifest today on the field a confusion of authority, loss of morale, discouragement and lack of confidence in the Board, and the whole work built up at great cost of life and effort is jeopardized.

We present herewith three statements of particular cases, all occurring since 1912, in which it appears that the Board has acted in a manner to justify the above statement. We have appealed to the Board again and again, but have obtained no relief and we are therefore seeking redress through the General Assembly.

We respectfully request that you take such action as will secure a thorough examination of the relations existing between the Board of Foreign Missions and the Chosen Mission and obtain an authoritative definition in the Board Manual approved by the General Assembly of the relations which should properly exist between the Board of Foreign Missions and the Missions in regard to the matter of field administration, to the end that relations more suitable for the prosecution of modern complex mission work under definite Presbyterian principles may be established.

Respectfully submitted,

To Exec. Commission of the G.A., PCUSA – p.2 signers

(The original sheets in five or more identical copies, signed by the following individuals):

Norman C. Whittemore
Stacy Roberts
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(from bound copy entitled *PRESENTATION OF DIFFICULTIES which have arisen in the CHOSEN [KOREA] MISSION of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN U.S.A. because of a Lack of Definition between the Foreign Board and itself concerning their mutual responsibilities in the administration of FIELD WORK*, S.A. Moffett and J.E. Adams, editors, pp.1,2

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THE CASE OF THE BOARD'S DEALING WITH THE SENATE OF THE EDUCATIONAL FEDERATION IN KOREA.

(References at end of Statement)

I. The Organization and Constitution of the Senate.

The conditions of missionary education in Chosen and the developing of the new Japanese government's relations to it were such that it became necessary for the various Missions to stand together in educational matters, and for this reason in 1911 the six Federated Missions organized an additional Educational Federation with a governing Senate composed of their representatives and gave to it such powers as the current conditions made necessary. These Missions were the Northern Presbyterian, Southern Presbyterian, Canadian Presbyterian, Australian Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South. The Constitution was adopted by all the Missions and ratified by all their Boards. For the Northern Presbyterian Mission this was done by the Board in April, 1912. (1.)

The Constitution among other powers delegated to the governing body, the Educational Senate, the following: (2) "The location and number of High Schools, Art Colleges, Technical Schools, and Special Schools which shall be founded on or maintained by any of the constituent Missions, their correlation and the delimitation of their respective territory, shall be determined by the Senate."

"That such funds may be secured, the Senate shall take steps for the organization of a holding body and for incorporation as may be necessary." (3).

This holding body when organized became known as the 'Joint Holding Committee.'

II. Assumption of Senate Functions by Joint Holding Committee.

The representatives of our Board upon this Joint Holding Committee were appointed at the same meeting as approved the Senate Constitution, April 15th, 1912. (4). At the first meeting of this Joint Holding Committee organized for the sole purpose of securing and holding necessary joint funds (5) it started to exercise functions the initiative for which was delegated solely to the field Senate by the Missions and Boards. (6).

At this time there was but one college in the country. It was at Pyeongyang. It was a union institution of the two principal Missions in the country with a permanent Constitution ratified by both Missions and Boards. It had been running for years, and had an attendance of 68 students in the collegiate course.

The Joint Holding Committee in New York first raised and thrust upon the federated organizations the question of one college for the whole country and a change in location. (7) This is shown in the minutes of its first meeting:

1. Number: There should be but one college in the country.
2. Location: That it should be either at Pyeongyang or Seoul.
3. Correlation: Character of Pyeongyang school if Seoul should be decided upon as location.

In its second meeting the Joint Holding Committee sought from the Boards authority (8) and secured it. This was done without regard to the Educational Federation on the field or its Constitution. The real situation and purpose however was not understood upon the field until long after. On the field the actions were understood only as recommendations to the field. These minutes were sent to the field by our Board to secure the action of the Mission (9) which took action (10) not appreciating the coming usurpation of recognized field rights.

The Joint Holding Committee then made an extremely strong recommendation for a new location at Seoul for the College it proposed, secured a favorable vote from the Boards and put the matter to a vote of the missionary body of the six Federated Missions. (11). The Chairman of the Joint Holding Committee who was also secretary of the Northern Presbyterian Board for Korea wrote the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, who was also a member of the Educational Senate, saying that the Boards were not forcing the question of location and that the missionaries were being given the opportunity to put the College where they wanted it. (12). This was accepted as explanatory and in harmony with the Constitution and the vote was taken by the Senate.

III. Field Vote and Overriding of Field by Home Organizations.

The vote of all male missionaries more than one year on the field was taken with the recommendation of the Joint Holding Committee in the hands of the voters. These numbered 121. The vote resulted, in favor of the existing location at Pyongyang 632; in favor of the new location at Seoul 37; votes not received in time limit 21. Of the 21 whose votes were not received it was known by a previous vote that 8 stood for Pyongyang and 3 for Seoul.

This practically two-thirds vote was reported by the Senate Secretary to the Joint Holding Committee with a careful analysis of the vote. (13). The Joint Holding Committee received this and by putting all non-voters on the side of the minority favoring the new proposition pronounced it a fifty-two per cent vote, cast its own vote on the side of the minority, declared this a majority of the parties concerned, and through the Boards ordered the establishment of the institution at the new location in Seoul. (14). The question of its authority being raised (15) it stated that (16)

"The Joint Committee derives its jurisdiction from the Boards which appointed it and in whose behalf it acts, that the Committee is empowered, subject to the ratification of its recommendations by the Boards, to deal with any and every subject affecting educational work in Korea which concerns the cooperative relations and activities of the Boards, that the action characterized by the Senate as that of the Joint Committee was that of all five of the Boards in North America, — and that this action stands unless and until it shall be modified by the Boards which adopted it, and which instructed the Joint Committee to send it to the field."

The grounds of the action of the Joint Holding Committee having become clear, and its incompatibility with the Constitution of the Senate evident, the Senate protested the action and refused to accept the decision. It pointed out the overriding of its Constitution ratified by the Boards, the usurpation of the functions delegated to it, the injustice of the action, and the confusion created by it. (17). (18). This was conveyed to the Joint Holding Committee, but no explanation, justification or reply was ever received.

The college at Seoul was established, upon the authority of the Boards through the Joint Holding Committee, without further reference to the Senate, and against a practically two-thirds vote of the entire missionary body of the country, and the almost unanimous vote of those Missions carrying nearly three-fourths of the work of the country. The chief party in this action was the Board of the Northern Presbyterian church.

The Constitution of the Senate having been shattered and the fact of its shattering left ignored, the Senate ultimately dissolved itself by the authorization of the constituent Missions, and ceased to exist.

NOTE:

It may be said that the Senate made a reference of the question to the Joint Holding Committee. This is true. But this was done as to an outside body, before any realization on the field of the course that body was pursuing. (19).

It will be seen from the letters referred to that conditions in the Joint Committee led the Senate to invalidate the reference before the Joint Committee decision was made), and ultimately the Committee itself repudiated it as the basis of its decision. For these reasons it has not been entered here as an essential factor in the sequence pursued.

- (1) Board Letter 64, See Appendix I; Board Letter 80, Appendix II.
- (2) Art. 5, Sec. 4
- (3) Art. 5, Sec. 11
- (4) B.L. 80, Appendix II. B.L. 102, Appendix III.
- (5) Cont. Art. 5, Sec. 11, quoted above.
- (6) Minutes, Joint Com., 6-27-12, Appendix IV.
- (7) Minutes, Joint Com., 6-27-'12, Resolutions 2 & 3: Appendix V.
- (8) Minutes, Joint Com., 7-24-'12, Appendix V.
- (9) Bd. L., 102, Appendix III.
- (10) Mission Minutes, 1912, pages 51-53, Appendix VI.

- (11) B. L., 145, 4-15-'13, Appendix VII.
- (12) A.J.B. to S.A.M., 7-25-13. Appendix VIII.
- (13) J.E.A. to A.J.B., 8-13-13, Appendix IX
- (14) A.J.B. to J.E.A., 9-15-13, Appendix X J.E.A. to A.J.B., 10-20-13, Appendix XI, Bd. L., 177, Appendix XII, F.M.N. to J.E.A., 2-24-14, Appendix XIII. Bd. L., 196, Appendix XIV.
- (15) J.E.A. to F.M.N., 4-6-14, Appendix XV.
- (16) Joint Com. to J.E.A., 5-19-14, Appendix XXV.
- (17) Senate Minutes 6-13-14, Appendix XVI.
- (18) J.E.A. to A.J.B., 4-23-14, Appendix XVII.
- (19) J.E.A. to A.J.B., 12-25-12, Appendix XVIII. to J.E.A., 4-28-13, Appendix XX. J.E.A. to A.J.B., 6-27-13, Appendix XXI; 6-23-13, Appendix XXII. Bd. L., 167, 7-30-13, Appendix XXIII. Senate Minutes, 6-13-14, pages 10-15, Appendix XXIV. Joint Com. to J.E.A., 5-19-14, Appendix XXV.

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**THE CASE OF THE BOARD'S DEALING WITH THE CHOSEN MISSION
IN THE MATTER OF THE LOCATION OF ONE COLLEGE FOR THE COUNTRY.**

(References at end of Statement)

I. The Northern Presbyterian Mission had, some years previous to 1912, founded a college in Pyongyang. The Methodist Episcopal Mission had united in it, and the two had eventually worked out a permanent union constitution ratified by both Missions and Boards. No question of the desirability of location had arisen.

A few members of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in the Seoul Station had long desired to establish another college in Seoul. The Mission had at times approved, at times disapproved, but finally it came to the position of delaying until the Pyongyang College was well established.

The work of the Methodist Episcopal Mission centered about Seoul. From the beginning they had tried to establish a college there, but had never succeeded, money and men being insufficient. Eventually their Mission in its Annual Meeting of March 1912, passed a resolution recommending ONE college for the entire country for all Missions and that at Seoul. The other Missions, however, took no action. This was the situation in the fall of 1912.

II. The New York Joint Holding Committee of the Educational Federation of Missions in Korea, composed of representatives from the Boards, held its first meetings in June and July of 1912. Representatives of our Board and of the Methodist Episcopal Board alone were present with certain missionaries of their Missions in Korea. The Council of our Board sent the minutes of these meetings to our Mission in August of the same year, with a strong intimation of the Board's coming approval, and directing Mission consideration in September. These minutes covered the question of one Union College for the entire country and of its location at Pyongyang or Seoul. (20) This was the first presentation of the matter to the Mission. The statement repeatedly made in justification of the Board's subsequent course to the effect that the initiative had come from the missionaries and that the Board had acted only upon their request is an entirely mistaken statement. (21).

Appendix VIII. B.L. 456, Memorandum pg. 23, Appendix LXXIV.

III. Under these instructions from the Board, the Mission took action after long discussion. (22). The motion that "we approve a college in Seoul" was defeated by a vote of 6 to 36. The motion that "there be but one college in Korea and that to be in Pyongyang" was approved with but six negative votes; and it was also passed "that our Mission ask all the evangelical Missions to unite with us in the Union College at Pyongyang," in which request the Southern and Australian Presbyterian Missions concurred. Upon the basis of this motion and this alone would the Mission consent to consider the matter or enter into it.

IV. On receipt of these actions the Board called them "an emphatic decision in favor of one College for Korea," and stated that "the question of location is now to be determined" (23), entirely ignoring the real character of the Mission's action, the fact of an existing union college built up upon many years development of work, and that no Mission except the Methodist Episcopal, which handled but fifteen percent of the educational work of the country, had raised any question as to its location.

V. Board Letter No. 145 (24) brought to the Mission the Board's endorsement of the New York Joint Holding Committee's action strongly recommending the Seoul location, and asking for a vote of the missionary body of the country on the question. The numerous wrong and unbalanced statements favoring the Committee's position as set forth in this communication need not be gone into. Suffice to say that on the field instead of the six Federated Missions having voted for one Union College for the country as stated, the three Presbyterian Missions carrying between them two-thirds and three-fourths of all the work in the country had explicitly voted for the already established location in Pyongyang and formally entered into its union, so that four out of six were in the organization, and this was known to the Board.

A vote of the missionary body on the subject had just been taken on the initiative of the Senate of the Educational Federation, but upon the receipt of this request a second vote was taken with the full recommendation of the New York Joint Holding Committee before each voter. This was done upon the understanding that the vote was a reference to the field for decision, and that a clear majority of the

missionaries would decide the question. This understanding was certified by a letter from the Chairman of the Joint Holding Committee, who was also Secretary of our Board for Korea, written to the Chairman of our Mission Executive Committee. (25).

Although the vote was taken with the full recommendation of the New York Joint Holding Committee before each voter, it still resulted in a two-thirds vote of the entire missionary body of the six Federated Missions in favor of the established Pyongyang location. And in this vote our own Mission, carrying a full half of all the work in the country, gave a vote of 35 to 5 with the majority. (26). Immediately following this our Executive Committee made full presentation of conditions and reasons to the Board and presumed that the matter was closed. (27).

VI. The astonishment of the missionary body and of our own Mission in particular can scarcely be understood when we received a communication authoritatively deciding the location in favor of Seoul. (28). An attempt was made to justify this decision upon these assertions:

1. That all the Missions had unconditionally agreed to enter upon a union of one college for the country and were therefore bound to the matter. This was not so. The Northern Presbyterian Mission had made the condition of the already established Union College absolute. This was done because the question of location was inextricably involved with questions of fundamental Mission principles. The Southern Presbyterian and Australian Presbyterian Missions agreed with the Northern Presbyterian Mission. The Methodist Episcopal Mission and its Home Board had made the condition of the proposed new location in Seoul absolute and the Methodist Episcopal South had agreed with them. The Canadian Presbyterian alone laid down no condition.

2. That the field vote was but a fifty-two per cent vote and so indecisive. This also was not according to facts, but was a direct emasculation accomplished by counting all the non-voters on the side of the minority.

3. That the question of location was not a field question; therefore the Boards would decide. This could only be set forth by a confusing of the issues. For there were three factors in the new proposition: finance, organization, and location. The first was wholly a Board question; the second Board and Field; the third wholly a Field question. Failure of the parties interested to agree on any one of the three might defeat the new proposition, but failure in none could justify the Home base in usurping the rights and functions of the Field in order to abolish an existing institution and put a new proposition over.

This astonishment was not confined to our own Mission, but was equally manifest in the Southern Presbyterian and Australian Presbyterian Missions - the first of which is the second largest in the country, and both of which have since, like our own, consistently refused to have aught to do with the institution at Seoul; and these two with our own carry from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the work in the country.

VII. Our Mission immediately framed a protest, both as to the decision of the immediate case, and the principles of administration violated in the overriding of our Mission and of the missionary body of the country. (29) This protest or similar ones agreeing with the Mission's main contention with regard to the Board's procedure were signed by forty-eight voting members out of sixty-four in the Mission. (30). The protest is summed up in this statement:

"The general principle is clear. Field operations are to be conducted by and through the field organization. In our view a contrary course is in violation of two fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, democracy in direct operation, and government by graded courts."

Replies came to these protests from the Board (31) but none dealt frankly with the points made or attempted to meet or answer them.

VIII. At the annual meeting of the Mission in 1914 a ballot was again taken on the subject, with the result of, one not voting and forty-two to twelve in favor of the established location of the union institution in Pyongyang. (32) The Board, upon this, took final action. It justified its action upon a difference of educational policy between the Mission and the Board. It asserted that the Mission had

limited missionary education to the children of Christians only. This was not the educational policy of the Presbyterian church. It quoted the action of the General Assembly of 1838 recommending to its missionaries to put next to the direct preaching of the gospel the education of heathen youth. It insisted upon the right of the Presbyterian church to conduct education in Korea in accord with these principles, as in all its other Missions. It would permit the Pyeongyang Union College to be continued as a Junior College if the Mission could carry it, but the other institution must be established upon the broader basis. It hoped that the majority of the Mission would regard this as the best compromise practicable and cooperate heartily in the Seoul institution by the immediate election of Mission representatives on the Field Board of Managers "who of course must be men who sympathize with the object[ive]s of the Seoul College." The Board of Managers was authorized to proceed at once with the organization of the college at Seoul, and if the Mission did not feel prepared to cooperate "the Board authorizes such members of the Mission as are willing to do so, to represent the Board in organizing the College at Seoul." (33). Owing to the inability of the Mission to make an ad interim decision the college was established and operation begun as authorized by the Board letter.

IX. At the annual meeting of 1915 after long prayer and careful consideration and conference with Dr. Speer of the Board, and only after repeated attempts to find some other solution of the problem, in view of the institution being already in operation, the Mission replied:

"Much to our regret we cannot see our way clear to participate in the Seoul College, and we ask the Board to make arrangements to operate the college independent of the Mission."

This was by a vote of thirty-five to eight. (34). To this the Board replied assenting to the arrangement and appointing its representatives, (35) and the institution has since continued upon this basis, supposedly being operated independently of the Mission, directly by the Board, through individual representation.

X. In the Board's final decision it defined certain administrative relations. (36). "It would endeavor to provide its share of faculty and maintenance without lessening the force and budget that would be normally assigned to the mission." "The Board will designate the college appropriations and missionary appointments so that they can be noted separately from those subject to transfer on the field." "Our share in the college is to be regarded as an integral and necessary part of the work of the Presbyterian church in Korea and entitled to full recognition as such." As matters have progressed, however, it has become increasingly manifest that it is not the purpose to have the relation agreed upon continue permanently or to make reasonable adjustments for it, or to pursue other policy than that of constant and unjust pressure upon the Mission to force it into the institution. The appropriations for the institution have been unknown to the Mission but appointees upon its faculty have sought secretaries' salaries and house rent from Mission appropriations; qualified Mission workers have been transferred to the faculty from the already overworked Mission force over the Mission vote by direct Board action, and their place filled in Mission work with new recruits from home; (37) the annual popular meeting of the institution has been injected into the annual meeting of the Mission as a propaganda; and members of the Mission carrying large and responsible Mission work are called home for long periods for the institution's interests, without reference to the Mission's provision for their work. (38).

In view of the increasing confusion, through a lack of proper definition of relations, the Mission at its annual meeting of 1918 petitioned the Board to secure General Assembly permission for the suspension of the Manual Rule, Sec. 40, that "the Mission has general care and supervision of all work within its limits," and obtain an authorization for the operation of the institution within the limits of the Mission but wholly outside and unrelated to it with distinct definition. (39).

The Board replied (40) "that the Board had not deprived the Mission of its powers in relation to the college. The Mission had voluntarily and against the wish of the Board abdicated its powers in respect to the college by declining to recognize it as an integral part of the work within its bounds with which the Board and the Home Church are cooperating. The Board agrees with the Mission that the resulting situation is 'difficult and anomalous' and that it is a 'source of constant conflict and confusion.'

But this unfortunate situation has been created by the course of the Mission in refusing to accept the decision properly made by the Board and approved by the General Assembly. The Mission is entirely free to remedy it at any time by cooperating with the college." "The actions of the Board were submitted to and approved by the General Assembly the following year in connection with its review of the records of the Board." "The relation of the college to the Mission is the same as that of other union institutions such as the Union Medical College and the Junior Union College in Pyongyang except that the Mission has not availed itself of the right to elect representatives on the Field Board of Managers."

In the last printed pamphlet of the institution for public information the following statement is made: (41)

"Field Board of Managers consists of eleven missionaries representing the cooperating Missions and four Japanese subjects – Northern Methodist Mission (three) Northern Presbyterian Mission (four) Southern Methodist Mission (one) Canadian Presbyterian Mission (one)."

The final inference seems inevitable and the Mission is helpless in the matter. "This unfortunate situation has been created by the course of the Mission in refusing to accept the decision properly made by the Board and the Mission is entirely free to remedy it at any time by cooperating with the college."

NOTE: It should be said that the official correspondence referred to will give a much more comprehensive understanding of the matter than this statement which touches only principal points. It should also be borne in mind that the Manual regulations approved by the General Assembly for its Home and Field agents' operations defines the Mission's functions as follows:

"The Mission has general care and supervision of all work within its limits. All questions of policy, method and expenditure are subject to its judgment, and all requests requiring the action of the Board should be accompanied by the action of the Mission upon them."

Among all the Missions in the country our own had been most strongly founded upon the policy of a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating native church. Within thirty years from the beginning a church of 100,000 Christians had resulted, self-governing, with its own Presbyteries and Assembly and this church is practically self-supporting. In the aggregate of all the twenty-seven Missions operating under our foreign Board, twenty-four per cent of the native ordained pastors, thirty-three percent of the churches, thirty-four percent of the communicants, eighty-three percent of the self-supporting churches were in the Korea Mission; while but ten per cent of the missionaries and eight percent of the appropriations were to this country. The ardent evangelistic character of the Korean church was shown by the fact also that thirty-three percent of all those each year entering the church among the twenty-seven Missions entered the church in Korea. Practically all these were being brought in by the spontaneous efforts of unpaid native Christians. As all missionaries know these conditions are exceedingly difficult to attain and even more difficult to maintain. The consistent, unwavering, and almost unanimous position of our Mission body arose from its conviction, born through long effort and experience, and fortified by its sense of direct responsibility to the Master, upon this point. It knew that in this almost ideal condition, labored and prayed for in every Mission, higher education should be made the handmaid of the church, and its primary object be the making permanent of this evangelizing character in its life and leadership. This was the great and vital hope of the country's rapid evangelization.

As a result not over ten percent of students in Mission institutions were non-Christian. They were not excluded, but they did not come; or if they came, they did not remain non-Christians. The student bodies were ardently evangelistic and those going out carried out the same spirit. Under the system 10,556 scholars were in the primary, self-supporting church schools of our Mission and 1322 in the academies and college. The Pyongyang college had been built up as the capstone of the system, in the only location where it could be most certainly made such, and in it the system's product was completed and being turned back into the life of the church.

Among Evangelical Missions our Mission alone held sixty percent of all communicant membership and over fifty percent of the student body of the country. During four years of discussion

five formal votes were taken on the subject and none fell below an eight-tenths vote of the Mission in favor or the established location. However, the Board of Foreign Missions in New York in connection with the Joint Holding Committee, established within the Mission, boundaries over the Mission's head and against its practically unanimous protest, an institution which is to dominate the Mission education of the country and reverse its character.

- (20) Bd. L. 102, Appendix III
- (21) Bd. L. 228, Appendix XXVI; A.J.B. to S.A.M., 7-25-13
- (22) Mission Minutes, 1912, Pages 51-53, Appendix Vi.
- (23) Bd. L. 120, Appendix VII.
- (24) 4-15-13, Appendix VII
- (25) A.J.B. to S.A.M., 7-25-13, Appendix VIII
- (26) J.E.A. to A.J.B., 8-13-13, Appendix IX; 10-20-13, Appendix XI
- (27) Mission Ex. Com. to Bd., 9-4-13, Appendix XXVII
- (28) Bd. L. 196, 2-24-14, Appendix XIV
- (29) Mission Ex. Com. to Bd., 4-14-14, Appendix XXVIII
- (30) S.A.M. to A.J.B., 4-8-14, Appendix XXIX; Protest 4-14-14, Appendix XXX, S.A.M. to A.J.B., 4-22-14, Appendix XXXI.
- (31) Bd. L. 208, Appendix XXXII; 214, Appendix XXXIII; 218, Appendix XXXIV; 221, Appendix XXXV; 228, Appendix XXXVI
- (32) Mission Minutes, 1914, page 51. Appendix XXXVI.
- (33) Bd. L. 249, 12-8-14, Appendix XXXVII
- (34) Mission Minutes, 1915, Ex. Com. Report, Sec. 8, Appendix XXXVIII.
- (35) Bd. L. 316, 2-10-16, Appendix XXXIX.
- (36) Bd. L. 249, 12-8-14, Appendix XXXVII
- (37) Bd. L. 432, 1-25-18, Appendix XL; 458, 6-4-18, Appendix XLI. Mission Minutes, 1918, Ex. Com. Report, Sec. 10, Appendix XLII.
- (38) Mission Minutes, Ex. Com. Report, Sec. 5, Appendix XLIII. Bd. L. 458, par. 2, 6-4-18, Appendix XLI.
- (39) Minutes, 1918, Apportionment Com. Report, Appendix XLIV.
- (40) Bd. L. 473, 11-6-18, Appendix XLV.
- (41) Chosen Christian College, Seoul, Chosen, Nov., 1918, page 3, Appendix XLVI.

(from bound copy entitled *PRESENTATION OF DIFFICULTIES which have arisen in the CHOSEN [KOREA] MISSION of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN U.S.A. because of a Lack of Definition between the Foreign Board and itself concerning their mutual responsibilities in the administration of FIELD WORK*, S.A. Moffett and J.E. Adams, editors, pp.6 - 12.

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**THE CASE OF THE BOARD'S DEALING WITH THE CHOSEN MISSION
IN THE MATTER OF DEFINITION OF BOARD AND MISSION RELATIONS
IN FIELD ADMINISTRATION.**

(References at end of statement)

I. The First Mission Action.

As has been stated before, when the Board's first decision on the college location question was rendered contrary to the vote on the field, a protest of the Mission was filed which covered the question of the Mission's proper place in field authority. (42).

In 1915 a petition to the General Assembly for definition on this point was drawn up by the executive committee of the Mission. (43). Before presenting this to the Mission it was shown to Dr. Speer. He immediately protested, saying that if the Mission wished to deal the most disastrous blow possible to the church's mission work all over the world, it could go about it in no better way; the Mission knew what the Home Board had just gone through; if it thought it must do something of the kind at least present it first to the Board. When the petition was presented to the Mission, the Mission voted to lay it on the table for one year that it might appear on the minutes and so give the Board informal opportunity to consider it. The Board, however, took no action.

II. Educational Ordinance and Conformity.

In 1914 the Chosen Government-General issued a revised educational ordinance requiring among other things, that all religious exercises and instruction should be eliminated from the curricula of all private schools including Mission schools. This covered all grades from primary to college. No college could operate without a government permit. Schools possessing government permits when the ordinance was issued were given ten years of grace in which to conform. Schools seeking a permit after the ordinance was promulgated must conform from the beginning.

Our Board presented a very strong protest to the administration upon the extreme character of the ordinance, (44) but no concession was granted. The Federal Council of the six Federated Missions recommended that the Missions should not conform. The Methodist Episcopal Mission very shortly decided to conform not only in its new schools but also in those holding the privilege of the ten years of grace. The Presbyterian Missions refused to do so, and particularly was the Northern Presbyterian Mission outstanding in availing itself of these years, trusting that ten years of God's grace would bring a change and open a door for the schools under its care, and a future for Christian education in the country. An attempt was made to bring in the Chosen Christian College as a previously existing institution but this request was denied by the authorities, and the question of its conforming to the ordinance arose. (45). The agreement that it should be operated independently of the Mission was an embarrassment and difficulty on both sides. The Board wished the judgment of the Mission but would not ask for it. The conforming of the institution would be an unspeakable disaster to the whole line of defense which the Mission was framing for the future of Christian education in the country; for it was declaredly to be the dominating institution, established directly by the Boards for that purpose, yet the Mission could take no action in relation to it. The Board wrote asking the judgment of a number of Mission members. The Mission took action indirectly but clearly stating its judgment. (46). Replies were sent to the personal letters, the chairman of the executive committee being particularly instructed to write in full. (47) After a delay of some months it was decided by the Joint Committee, the Board consenting, to take out a permit for the institution under the ordinance, conforming to its requirements, in order that the institution be legally and permanently established. (48). The unescapable and lamentable effect of this step upon the larger question of the future of Christian education for the Church of Christ in the entire country, again forced the question of Mission authority in field matters into prominence. (49).

III. Revision of Chapter XVIII on the Form of Government Entitled "Missions."

The proposed revision presented to the Presbyteries in 1916 which had grown out of the discussion of the proper administration of Home Board work gave full power of "direction" to the Boards

as the former wording had not done, and, what was not well recognized in the homeland, seemed to foreign missionaries on the field to cover Foreign Missions also; which if true would effectually close the question under discussion and make all authority in the foreign work inhere in the Board, by constitutional authorization.

This became known on the field shortly before the General Assembly of 1917 and at once aroused strenuous objection. Articles pointing this out were sent to the church papers, (50) many missionaries sent personal letters to their presbyteries and friends in the ministry; the executive committee formulated a suggested "Mission" section for the revision; a cable was sent to a furloughed Mission member, deprecating appealing Board actions, but asking that the Assembly be requested to conserve field authority to the Mission; these two being signed by some thirty-nine voting members. The Mission's delegate to the Assembly introduced two actions in the Foreign Missions Committee, one on conformity and the other on Mission self-government. These after very material modification in the Committee were adopted as follows by the Assembly: (51)

"That in view of the new and serious problems that the Board is facing in the educational work in several of its fields, resulting in the passage of new laws relative to government control of educational institutions and the consequent secularization of all education, the Assembly approves the continuance of Bible teaching and religious services in all mission schools as long as it is legally permissible."

"That the Assembly notes with special interest the Board's policy of securing more efficient local administration in the various Mission fields, including the largest amount of democratic self-government in the Missions, and recommends that whenever conditions permit, or render it advantageous, in the judgment of the Board, further steps be taken in the same direction, especially in the case of the larger Missions.

From these actions nothing has resulted except that the Mission so far as it was responsible has sought to live up to them loyally. (52).

IV. Board Conference With Furloughed Missionaries.

In the summer of 1917 after the meeting of General Assembly three such conferences were held on the subject of the Mission's functions in field administration. In the second, the desire was expressed by both parties to arrive at some mutually satisfactory adjustment and that this could best be done by an amendment to the Manual; also both agreed that the best mode of procedure would be for the Mission to first formally make known its desires in this respect to the Board, on the basis of which the Board could then take action. The Mission was cabled to this effect and took action at its annual meeting in June. (53). The receipt of this action occasioned the third conference. (54). At this conference it was suggested that the Mission request eliminated the Board from field administration and made it only a money collecting, recruit providing body. This interpretation was at once repudiated by the missionaries who made the point, however, that all real authority in field matters now rested wholly in the Board. No real authority inhered in the Mission. Its actions stood only by current Board permission. This was admitted by the Board representatives as the system under which we worked, made so by the General Assembly. The point was emphasized that this was not Presbyterian. Finally the suggestion was made by Board members that a "Brief" be prepared setting forth the Mission's contention, and the Mission members present were requested to revise the Mission action in such a way as to still express the Mission desire but be more in accord with the points brought out in the conference discussion. Immediately after the conference this last was done and the chairman of the Mission Executive Committee who was returning immediately to the field was requested to secure that committee's approval of the revision. Subsequently the Board took action upon the Mission's suggested amendment to the Manual to the effect that it was impracticable because incompatible with the General Assembly's action constituting the Board but suggested that the question of the relative powers and functions of Board and Mission be considered at a proposed "Post War Conference" with furloughed missionaries. (55).

V. The "Brief," the Mission Executive Committee's Action and Board Reply.

As suggested by Board representatives in the last conference with the Board in 1917 a "Brief"

was prepared by the chairman of the Mission's Executive Committee, approved by the executive committee of the Mission and returned to the Board. The overtures on the revision of Chapter XVIII in the form of Government having been referred to the executive commission of the General Assembly, a copy was sent through the Board secretary to this commission for its information on that subject. (56.) This the Board forwarded with an accompanying action of its own upon the subject. (57). No comment is made here on this action. It will be noted that in Board Letters 426 (58) and 436 (59) reference is made to a number of reasons for not approving the Mission's proposed amendment to the Manual which "can be explained in a letter to the Mission," "the committee and council deeming it expedient that its written statement and the reasons should be passed on by the committee and council before mailing." In anticipation of some action by the executive commission of the General Assembly this seems to have been prepared as a "Memorandum" to the Assembly of 1918 but not presented. (60). This document of twenty-nine pages, single spaced typing, the reader must study for himself. (61). Its spirit and purpose and method will throw great light upon the general situation, and the difficulties under which the Mission has been laboring for some years. It is the climax of the whole matter and makes clear as nothing preceding had, and renders impossible any further question, as to the real position of the Board on the question of democratic self-government of the field organization in field matters. It takes the unqualified position that Presbyters of the church called of God as His apostles to a non-Christian people cannot have rights in their work similar to their brethren at home, for, "every missionary is on the foreign field - solely because of appointment by the Board", "the Board established Missions, appointed the missionaries, determined their support, provided it and still provides" "The American Government is admittedly democratic," yet "the authority of the United States Government is autocratic in many directions, especially in relation to its representatives abroad. It is sufficient that the democratic principle be observed in the selection of the Government." 962). "Present world conditions imperatively demand a larger and more effective unification and coordination of all missionary activities so that our force and money can be used to better advantage in this extraordinary period of race upheaval and opportunity. Never has a strong Board, with the full power that the General Assembly has committed to it, been more urgently needed than now." (63). Suffice it to say that the position attributed by the "Memorandum" to the Mission is incorrect and its assertions unwarranted. When first suggested it was at once repudiated by the Mission representatives in 1917 and was specifically barred out in the "Brief" itself. (64). It does not seem comprehensible to us that such a document could be prepared by a Board concerning its missionaries, much less for presentation to the General Assembly. The document must be taken, however, for what it represents, showing the Board's attitude to its Mission and to the question of field administration.

VI. Actions of Mission at Annual Meeting of 1918 and Board Replies.

At its meeting in March 1918 the Mission's executive committee recommended to the Mission a petition to the General Assembly for a commission from the Assembly to the Post War Conference to settle the questions of field administration and asked the Board to unite with it in the request. This was not passed by the Mission at that time but the Board was informed of it before the Assembly met, at which time the Board invited commission members to be present at the Post War Conference. (65). At the annual meeting of the Mission this recommendation was again made in the form of a petition to the Board, and passed by the Mission with unanimous vote. (66). All agreed in feeling the extreme need of having the matter settled and settled to stay. This petition was as follows:

"Request to the Board for the appointment of a commission from the General Assembly to participate in the After War Conference."

Preamble: In view of the long discussion concerning the relation of Board and Mission in regard to field operations, and the confusion arising therefrom to the injury of the work; and in view of the Board's statement that "we recognize the force of the contentions that the Manual does not sufficiently indicate just what the relative powers and functions of the Board and Mission are, and that clearer definition is desirable," and its proposal for a conference of furloughed missionaries for the consideration

of matters of vital moment; and, believing that in the conference, the General Assembly as principal of both Board and Mission, should be represented, we request the Board as follows:

Request: In accord with the original action of 1837 to the effect that the functions entrusted were to be "with such direction and instructions as from time to time may be given by the General Assembly" we request the Board to petition the Assembly to appoint a commission of five for the following purpose.

1. The Commission as representing the General Assembly shall participate in the proposed conference.
2. It shall go carefully and thoroughly into the whole problem of democratic self-government upon the field, its proper sphere in accord with Presbyterian and sound business principles; and its relation under present conditions with proper Board authority.
3. It shall frame on this basis such recommendations as seem to it wise, for the adjustment and definition of the respective functions of Board and Mission in field matters, particularly in the case of the larger Missions; and present the same to the General Assembly for its action; to the end that suitable directions and instructions may be given the Assembly's operative organization, both at home and abroad, that the Board and the Missions may more effectively discharge the duties laid upon them by the Master."

To this the Board replied refusing the request saying that the action already taken was sufficient, and in substance denying the consideration of the subjects in the conference. (67). In accord with Board Letter No. 426 (68) intimating that the matter would be given consideration in the Post War Conference, and the instruction of the Board that "the Missions be given notice far enough in advance to enable them in passing upon furloughs for the year in question, to see that their members who will be home are those whom the Mission would like to have represent them," the Mission took action appointing representatives. In reply it was intimated that when the time came the Korea Mission would probably have enough regular representatives at home without the necessity of any special arrangement of furloughs. (69).

VII. The request of the Mission for a clarification of the relations between the Mission and the Chosen Christian College and the character of the Board's reply to the same has been given in Statement No. II.

CONCLUSION:—

After five years of negotiation and patient waiting on the part of the Mission we are constrained to the belief that there is no intention of granting relief, and that we are simply subjects of a Fabian policy. Missions are not supposed to inter-communicate. The administration of the Board, at least, has greatly resented such attempts. But the information coming to us is to the effect that the Korea Mission has not been alone in its experience. We have been told by a prominent missionary of China that seeing the increasing concentration of field authority in the Board, was one of the leading reasons for the organization of the China Council of all our China Missions. The Board settlement of the "cooperating Missions question" in Japan, even after the lapse of years, has still left a soreness. A former China missionary, now the pastor of a leading church in the middle west and chairman of his Presbyterial Foreign Mission Committee writes us:

"I am in hearty sympathy with your effort to secure more authority on the field. I found while in China that the autocracy exercised by the Board in New York was most embarrassing and was causing a great many heartbreaks and many returns from the field. I did not think the Board was so much to blame as the authority assumed by the secretaries and the control which they exercised. They adopt a superior attitude to the missionary, and the wise conclusions in view of the facts locally known are often reversed by those who do not see things because they are too far away."

Secretaries of two other American Boards working in Korea, after a careful investigation on the field, have frankly expressed themselves as amazed at the course which our Board has pursued in dealing

with its Mission, and that such a course would never be thought of by their own organization, as it involves principles of operation diametrically opposed to their own Board policies.

It has been seven years since the Joint Holding Committee organized under the constitution of the Educational Federation of Missions in Korea, first usurped the functions of the governing senate in that body. During this period a number of Board actions of similar character in relation to the field force have taken place. The more important of these have been mentioned. They have gradually accentuated the situation until the definition of Mission powers as given in the Manual no longer carries any force; in field administration a state of confusion exists which is most injurious to the work; and there is no operating basis in field matters, as between field and home base, except that imposed by the Board solely on its own authority. As Presbyters of the Presbyterian Church of America, as many of the signers of the petition to the executive commission of the General Assembly which these papers accompany are and as apostles called by Christ to a non-Christian people which all are, we are unable to regard this as just and right to ourselves, or profitable to the Lord's work. As a body of Christ's servants we feel that we have sought a solution of the difficulty with long patience, under much misrepresentation, and with entire willingness to accept even a minimum of consideration. As the years have passed we have suggested, requested, petitioned and protested. It seems to us that in none of the Board's replies to these actions have our positions been properly met and given the consideration they deserve. The Board's general position is sufficiently manifest in its "Memorandum" to the General Assembly upon the subject. It is only with the deepest regret, and under a compelling sense of the interests of Christ's service, that we are at length driven to make this statement of the situation which we make not as a Mission but as individuals.

(42) Protest, 4-11-14, Appendix XXX.

(43) Mission Minutes, 1915, Quoted in "Brief", 11-17-17, page 9, Appendix XLVII.

(44) A.J.B. to M. Komatsu, 6-6-15, Appendix XLVIII.

(45) A.J.B. to J.E.A. 9-15-15, Appendix XLIX. J.E.A. to A.J.B. 10-21-15, Appendix L; 11-27-15, Appendix LI; 12-21-15, Appendix LII; 12-29-15, Appendix LIII.

(46) Mission Minutes, 1916, Ed. Com. Report, Sec. 26, Appendix LIV.

(47) J.E.A. to A.J.B. 10-7-16, Appendix LV.

(48) A.J.B. to J.E.A. 12-5-16, Appendix LVI. J.E.A. to A.J.B. 1-13-17, Appendix LVII. A.J.B. to J.E.A. 1-15-17, Appendix LVIII.

(49) J.E.A. to A.J.B. 3-19-17. Appendix LX; 4-16-17, Appendix LX.

(50) W.M.B. to the Herald & Presbyter, Appendix LXI. J.E.A. to the Presbyterian, Appendix LXII.

(51) Minutes, Gen'l Assembly, 1917, Page 219.

(52) A.J.B. to J.E.A. 1-23-18, Appendix LXIII. J.E.A. to A.J.B., 3-15-18, Appendix LXIV.

(53) Mission Minutes, 1917, Page 37, Ex. Com Report, Sec. 18 & 19, Appendix LXV.

(54) A.J.B. to J.E.A. 8-30-17, Appendix LXVI. J.E.A. to A.J.B. 9-4-17, Appendix LXVII.

(55) Bd. L. 426, 1-10-18, Appendix LXVIII.

(56) J.E.A. to A.J.B. with inclosures, 12-7-17, Appendix LXIX. "Brief," Appendix XLVII.

(57) Bd. L. 436, 2-14-18, Appendix LXX.

(58) Appendix LXVIII.

(59) Appendix LXX.

(60) Bd. L. 456, 5-31-18, Appendix LXXI.

(61) "Memorandum," Appendix LXXII.

(62) Memorandum, pages 7 & 8, Appendix LXXII.

(63) Memorandum, page 16, Appendix LXXII.

(64) Brief, III D, Appendix XLVII.

(65) J.E.A. to A.J.B. 5-15-18, Appendix LXXIII. Bd. L. 460, 6-12-18, Appendix LXXIV.

(66) Mission Minutes, 1918, Ex. Com. Report, Sec. 9.

(67) Bd. L. 468, 10-9-18, Appendix LXXV.

(68) Appendix LXVIII.

(69) Bd. L. 468, 10-9-18, Appendix LXXV.

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